ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ARTS, HUMANITIES
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EPITAPHS AND THE DEAD IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS

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ABSTRACT

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Epitaphs and the Dead in Early Modern English Manuscripts

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This thesis investigates the circulation of epitaphs in early modern English manuscripts, and examines their distinctive nature compared to epitaphs on tombs or in print. Epitaphs are a common feature of early modern manuscripts, containing a wealth of information about how the living related to the dead during a period in which the specifics of the afterlife were hotly debated. However, these texts have received comparatively little critical attention.

The basis of my study is a survey of 500 epitaphs across 20 early modern manuscripts, held in a range of archives and libraries. As there is currently no published index of early modern manuscript epitaphs, I have transcribed these poems and collated them into a database. This extensive primary material has shaped my findings and, I argue, provides a foundation towards a new understanding of the circulation of epitaphs amongst early modern verse compilers.

Four chapters articulate new perspectives on cultures of the dead. The first focuses on the distinctive nature of manuscript epitaphs when separated from a graveside context, requiring a different set of generic definitions to fully appreciate the scope of innovation in manuscript. Secondly, this thesis argues that manuscript epitaphs are fundamentally dialogic in nature, giving voice to both the living and the dead in expressing grief and loss. In the final two sections, I identify two types of discourse that have only limited expression outside of manuscript – humour and libel, and consider the implications of each of these distinctive styles of epitaph in turn.

I demonstrate that epitaphs in manuscripts represent a generic departure from epitaphs in other contexts. In these generic differences, a picture of early modern grief emerges that is highly personalised and paradoxically life-like, using humour, dialogic speech, and libel to establish the place of the dead among the community of the living.

Key words: Early modern, manuscripts, epitaphs, death, textual circulation, grief, Reformation, libel

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Editorial Principles

The majority of the texts in this study survive in multiple witnesses of varying textual quality, many with multiple 'faults'. This study does not seek to create an authoritative version of these texts, but is instead engaged in offering what might be considered a 'historical' rather than literary edition of the epitaphs studied. It is the individual, personalised nature of manuscript circulation that is under consideration in this thesis, and an attempt to carve out 'authorial intention' from these idiosyncratic texts would drastically reduce their usefulness in this regard. The natural compromise that emerges when taking such an approach is that some poems are represented complete with unsatisfactory or nonsensical readings of the text. In most cases this is not a barrier to comprehension, but in such cases where the text has been rendered particularly confusing, editorial notes offer clarified readings of the line.

A semi-diplomatic approach to transcription has been taken in order to preserve the sense of the physical text as far as is reasonable while still using widely accessible fonts and formatting. While preserving the identity of individual texts is a priority, clear legibility is also a guiding principle in these transcriptions. The transcription conventions I have used are as follows:

- Spellings and capitalisation have not been modernised, and as such u/v, i/j and ff/F have not been regularised. Long-s has not been preserved.
- Punctuation has been retained from the copy text including the use of virgules ('/'). Line breaks in shorter verse quotations are signified with '|' in order to make a clear distinction between early modern punctuation and editorial intervention. Brevigraphs (including '&' and '&c') have been preserved.
- Superscript letters have not been lowered.
- Scribal contractions have been expanded with the supplied letters in italics. Additionally, thorn ('þ') is represented with '*th*'.

- Missing or damaged sections of text have proposed readings offered in square brackets, using dots to represent lost letters which cannot be transcribed (‘[…]’)
- Text deleted in the manuscript is signalled with angled brackets (‘< >’).
- Insertions to the text are signalled by the use of carets enclosing the text (‘^ ^’).
- The layout of the text (including positioning on the page, and page rotation) has largely not been preserved, as this can more effectively be demonstrated through the use of images in those cases where layout is essential to an understanding of the text. Where possible, marginal notes are kept alongside the corresponding text as they appear in the original document. Indentations of lines and titles have been preserved, as these are often used to highlight terminal rhyming couplets or other structural features of the poem.
- The script used by individual compilers has not been retained. Verse compilers often swap between secretary and italic hands, but such distinctions are not relevant to this study.

INTRODUCTION

The origin of this thesis can be found in an entirely ordinary example of an early seventeenth century commonplace book held in Cambridge University Library Manuscripts Department. CUL MS Add 4138 is tall and narrow, permitting just a single column of script on each page, and its contents are almost entirely comprised of verse, often 'occasional' in nature.[1] The original compiler of the document was extremely methodical in their ordering of the manuscript, with its contents split thematically into sections, each divided by ten blank leaves. Where the manuscript caught my interest was in a single page with only two poems in the original compiler's hand, stuck in the middle of one of these empty ten-page sections (see figure 1).

First, they copied a poem for a 'gent. of *th*^{e} Temple *tha*^{t} dyed about *th*^{e} age of 24' (beginning 'Twyce twelue yeares not full told, a weary breath'), followed by Henry King's 'A meditation of Death'. [2] The page is graced with a wide margin at the top and the bottom – unusual for this compiler, who was otherwise a careful user of the full space available on the page. While the 'Temple' mentioned in the first of these poems refers to one of the Inns of Court, perhaps this suggested to a later user of the manuscript the otherwise unrelated Thomas Randolph poem, 'What rends the temples vayle, wher is day gone' which appears in a different hand, crammed into the top margin. As it originally stood though, this page appeared something of an oddity that nagged at me. The manuscript certainly contains other epitaphs later in the document – some of a sentimental nature, others quite scandalous in their turn, but this epitaph and 'Meditation of Death' were selected to stand alone, in a grouping of unused pages that had otherwise been carefully counted out and left blank. Was this a memorial for someone the compiler knew personally? Or did the poems simply have appeal as items which ought to be copied together, but after the completion of the manuscript proper, this was the only space available? Or was there some other logic that was otherwise inaccessible to me? I began looking for

[1]For a discussion on the 'occasional' nature of verse, see Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 2-4.
[2] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Additional 4138, fol. 23^{r}.

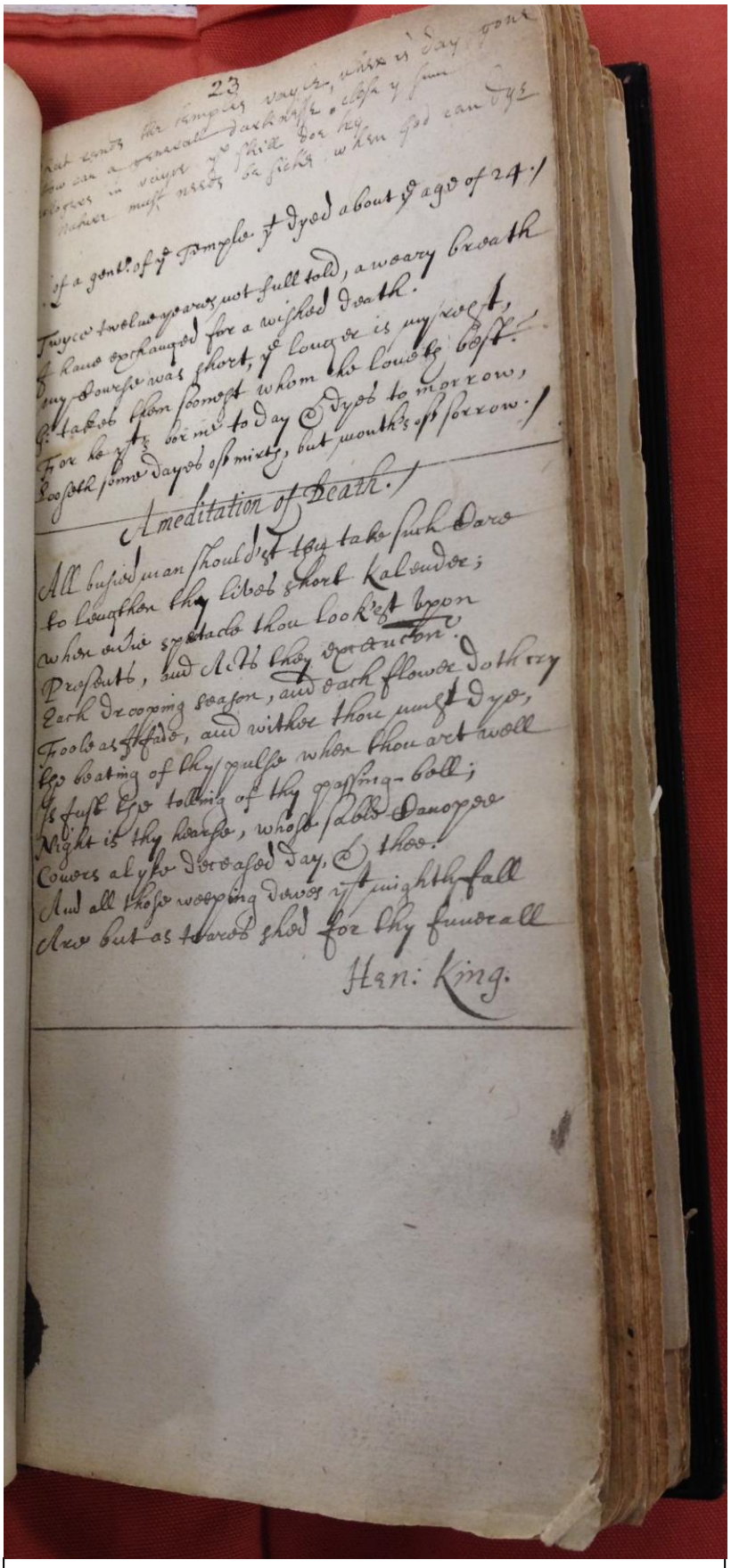

Figure 1: CUL MS Add. 4138, fol. 23[r].

copies of this, and other epitaphs in similar manuscripts, wondering whether this page was as unusual as it seemed, or if it formed part of a consistent treatment of epitaphs in manuscript compilations. I quickly found myself both overwhelmed by the huge number of texts available, and by the variety of ways in which these poems were collected and presented. Some were neatly copied out as exemplars in tidy commonplace books, others were wedged into the margins of the pages, while others still were haphazardly copied amongst seemingly unrelated materials.

CUL Ms Add. 4138 remained an unusual and thought-provoking case, but viewed in the context of other contemporary manuscript collections, its significance was better understood as 'one interesting case amongst many'. What *did* become apparent though, was that the enormous quantity of material was in its own way of substantial significance. Any scholar familiar with early modern commonplace books is liable to have encountered at least one collection of epitaphs in the course of their work, and yet the vogue for copying epitaphs (sometimes in large quantities) remains a little-discussed phenomenon amongst scholars of early modern writing. More familiar genres such as love lyrics and epigrams see more sustained commentary even when anonymous, and of course the critical attention is greater still in cases where authorship is known. Over the course of my research, the curious case of the odd page in CUL Add MS 4138 decreased in importance in terms of what motivated this compiler to set an epitaph apart in such a way, but became emblematic of a larger set of questions about why one would become so fond of epitaphs *at all*, and what these collections, when viewed more broadly as a literary and cultural movement, might have to say about the way in which relations between the living and the dead were expressed between the pages of personal documents. Compared to epitaphs engraved in churchyards and the collections of lapidary verse that made their way into print, manuscript epitaph collections have quite their own character which is currently poorly described by existing scholarship.[3] Compilers are not just freer to copy scandalous or libellous material than would

[3] The two most substantial studies of tomb monuments are Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016). For printed epitaphs, see Scott L. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave

be permissible in print or on stone, but can generate new combinations for these texts that are simply not possible in the socially constrained environment of the graveyard. Epitaphs are not just copied as a way of rationalising loss, but also for the rhetorical, social, and thematic possibilities the genre has to offer. While the primary aim of this thesis is to analyse the ways that manuscript epitaphs contribute to our understanding of the literary relationships the living made with the dead, my work in this area also explores the specific methods that manuscripts use to bear witness to epitaphs that are distinct from epitaphs in other media, making these hand-copied texts worthy of sustained investigation in their own right, as their own separate genre.

The foundation of this thesis is a study of 500 epitaphs from 20 early modern manuscripts, as well as a number of epitaphs that are made available digitally as part of the Early Stuart Libels project.[4] The majority of these manuscripts are commonplace books, many of which are associated with the universities and Inns of Court. Manuscripts such as these emerge from a specific social environment that is largely young, male, and wealthy; nonetheless, it represents a substantive corpus from which to draw conclusions about which types of texts circulate in manuscript and what purposes they serve from within this social sphere. While there is certainly room to explore the genre in more focused ways – for example, with a view to women's writing, or more provincial, family-owned (rather than university focused) manuscripts – this remains a ground-breaking study into the cultural uses for epitaphs in this commonly-surviving format. It is also a study that engages in epitaphs in ways that widely-studied canonical literature tends not to reach. This is not to say that the poems discussed in this thesis do not sometimes produce strong resonances with epitaphs from other literary genres. For example, Guiderius and Arviragus' mourning of 'Fidele' (their long-lost sister, Innogen, in disguise) in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* is remarkably epitaph-like, and their grieving over her body is reminiscent

Macmillan, 2008), and Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991). There is not currently a study of epitaphs in manuscripts on a comparable scale. Chapter 1 discusses modern critical approaches to epitaphs more fully, see 'Modern Definitions of Epitaphs'.

[4] "Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources." ed. by Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae. (*Early Modern Literary Studies* Text Series i, 2005) <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels/> [accessed 25 November 2020].

of many of the epitaphs for beautiful young women assessed here – her body is compared to floral abundance, offering up to her grave 'The flower that's like thy face, pale primrose' and 'The azured harebell, like thy veins' (IV. 2. 222-3).[5] For comparison, an epitaph for 'a young Gentlewoman' describes her lips as akin to 'the kisses of two damaske roses', and an epitaph on Miss Mary Prideaux (d. 1624) has her cheeks 'dyed' by roses.[6] Marlowe's *Tamburlaine The Great, Part II* also offers some unlikely echoes with manuscript practices, when the typical over-reaching hero declares his plans for an epitaph for his late wife, Zenocrate. In characteristic hyperbolic style, Tamburlaine insists that

> […] in as rich a tomb as Mausolus',
>
> We both will rest and have one epitaph
>
> Writ in as many several languages
>
> As I have conquered kingdoms with my sword. (II. 4. 133-136) [7]

This demand for macaronic verse seems wilfully excessive, but it is not at all unheard of for manuscript compilers to copy pithy epitaphs in both Latin and English – even though a command of both languages could be reasonably expected amongst an educated male readership.[8]

While it would be an oversight not to acknowledge these literary connections, the effusive grief of a staged epitaph remains very different to the kinds of everyday experiences of loss that manuscript epitaphs detail so well. Epitaphs for Thomas Hobson, a courier at Cambridge, for example, represent

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[5] William Shakespeare, 'Cymbeline', in *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt et. al., 2nd edn. (London: W. W. Norton, 2008), pp. 2963-3054.

[6] New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (BRBML), MS Osborn b356, p. 257, and London, British Library (BL), Harley MS 6917, fol. 72r.

[7] Christopher Marlowe, 'Tamburlaine the Great, Part Two', in *Christopher Marlowe: The Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 155-240.

[8] For example, the compiler of CUL, MS Add. 4138 offers the following:

Epitaphs of Sir Francis Walsingham & Sir Philip Sidney

> Nullus Francisco tumulus nullusque Philipo,
> Christoforo mons est, ac tumulus cumulus.
> Philipe and Francis haue no Tombe,
> for Christopher hath all the roome./ (fol. 47v)

A similar approach is taken in Folger Shakespeare Library (Washington, D.C.), MS V.a.103 where an epitaph titled 'On the late Lord Tresurer Sir Robert Cecill' is provided in Latin first, and then immediately followed by a text 'Translated into English thus' (fol. 20r).

the loss of a public figure who was well-known, but not necessarily *known well* amongst the small community of early modern Cambridge.[9] The oft-copied, yet understated epitaphs for infants are also indicative of types of relationship to the dead that we do not see on the early modern stage or in printed verse collections – these are not the dramatic untimely losses of the Duchess of Malfi's children in Webster's play, nor the loss of the young princes in Shakespeare's *Richard III*. Manuscript texts more typically represent the tightly-held grief at the painfully common experience of infant mortality. For example, Margaret Forey's article on the elegies for the children of Dr John Prideaux - a servitor at Oxford University - notes that 'For children to die young was hardly exceptional in that period'. However, while children were 'a rarity' in the university environment (given that 'only heads of colleges and prebends of Christ Church were allowed to marry'), even this is not sufficient to explain the 'surprising' degree of 'attention paid to the deaths of Prideaux's children by university poets', which ultimately resulted in quite a substantial collection of epitaphs and elegies.[10] In particular, the short epitaph for Prideaux's son Matthew, 'As careful mothers to their beds do lay' appears six times in the 500-poem sample of this thesis, and has 30 separate entries on the Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse, often with the identifying information removed.[11] The loss of a child is a repeating echo, resonating from one manuscript to another. Not all of these texts will have been copied in honour of a specific loss, but they still represent types of every day grief that are poorly represented in other, more critically well-trodden areas of early modern literature.

In light of Matthew Prideaux's oft-repeated epitaph, it is well worth noting more explicitly that repetition is a key feature of the manuscript environment, both within and between manuscript documents. This is a rich area of study that I engage with directly in Chapter 2, where I explore the

[9] Epitaphs for Hobson are discussed more fully in Chapter 3.
[10] Margaret Ann Forey, 'Elegies on the children of Dr John Prideaux, 1624–5', *The Seventeenth Century*, 30:3 (2015), 301-316. (p. 301). Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2015.1061325> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[11] See 'Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse' <http://firstlines.folger.edu/>, [accessed 25 November 2020]. It must be noted that while the First Lines Index is extensive, it is not comprehensive, and several large manuscript repositories (including Cambridge University Library) are not part of the union. This list is therefore not exclusive and it is reasonable to assume that further versions exist.

impact of verse compilers' decisions to repeat and re-frame the texts that they copy. More broadly though, it should be recognised that of the 500 poems included in the database of texts for this thesis, many of these are variant copies of what is ostensibly the same text – though often copied to remarkably different effect in each case. As a result, some poems are discussed more than once, in light of their differing representation from one manuscript to another. As with all manuscript poems, this repetition offers a different perspective on the text that does not translate well to other media; the recirculation, repurposing, and personalisation of texts amongst a community of readers is a fundamental part of the way these poems are to be understood, not a shortcoming.

This thesis works through several of the major thematic concerns of the epitaphs studied across four chapters. My first chapter, 'Defining Epitaphs', outlines the methodology for accessing and categorising epitaphs into a taxonomy, and explains the rationale for selecting texts as epitaphs, or for excluding them. Scholars such as Nigel Llewellyn and Peter Sherlock have produced extensive studies on tomb monuments including their accompanying epitaphs, and their work on the visual representations of the dead in relation to social memory clearly has a bearing on the study of manuscript epitaphs.[12] However, studies such as these have little need to define their criteria for an epitaph – it is defined simply by its location at a burial site. The relative instability of the genre when removed from the site of a burial is dealt with in a variety of ways across a range of studies. For Scott Newstok (whose work focuses on printed material), epitaphs are identifiable by their stated claim to proximity to the body (usually with some kind of 'here' gesture), whereas Joshua Scodel's broad-ranging study of epitaphs places a far greater emphasis on brevity as a defining feature of the genre.[13] My own work approaches a definition of epitaphs which acknowledges these criteria as common, but not *necessary* features of epitaphs in manuscript format, and I focus on the ways in which manuscript users categorised epitaphs in a context completely freed from space limitations and divorced from the

[12] See Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* and Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*.
[13] See Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England* and Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph.*

location of the body. This is an area in which I expect to meet resistance, as it involves de-prioritising some of the most widely accepted defining criteria for epitaphs, but it is an approach that has aided in recognising early modern senses of less conventional texts as 'epitaphic writing'. The structured broadening of the term allows for a wider range of interpretive possibilities, without diluting the meaning of 'epitaph' so significantly as to make it meaningless. This approach to defining epitaphs has already been used with considerable success by scholars in related fields, for example, Catherine A. M. Clarke has demonstrated that some aspects of the Anglo Saxon chronicle not usually considered as poetry *or* epitaphs may be considered a form of epitaphic writing, which contributes to the understanding of monarchical power in the period.[14]

Subsequent chapters work more directly with the literary and cultural impact of manuscript epitaphs, and develop the ways in which these texts can be approached. The second chapter, 'Dialogue with the Dead' is largely concerned with the more 'serious' epitaphs to be found in manuscript. As we shall see, not all epitaphs demand gravitas, but the work of this chapter is broadly concerned with epitaphs that express mourning and grief, and the ways in which those feelings of bereavement and loss are negotiated through speech. The extent to which manuscript epitaphs seek to produce a dialogue between the living and the dead is one of the more startling patterns to emerge from the categorisation of these poems. Understanding the nature of this dialogue and the social and religious structures that it implies offers a set of interpretive possibilities that are revealing about the way the living saw their relationship to the dead, and the role the dead played in a post-Reformation literary community. Speaking in dialogue with the dead is not a theologically straightforward concern, and this chapter explores the kinds of folk religion and vernacular beliefs that enable this type of speech, and the types of comfort that can be achieved through dialogue.

[14] Catherine A. M. Clarke, *Writing Power in Anglo-Saxon England: Texts, Hierarchies, Economies* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), pp. 44-79.

The third chapter, 'Death is a Laughing Matter' focuses on comic epitaphs. A substantial proportion of the epitaphs included in my corpus have amusement as their primary purpose, and this counter-intuitive dance between a genre of mourning and the drive towards laughter produces interesting results. In this chapter, I work to situate humorous epitaphs in their historical context, establishing the literary, religious, and medical practices of the period to which such examples of black humour are aligned. The latter part of the chapter addresses philosophical theories of humour, ultimately with a view to examine laughter and its value (or lack thereof) in relation to death and loss.

Finally, the fourth chapter, '*De Mortuis Nihil Nisi Bonum*: Speaking Ill and Speaking Well of the Dead' works directly with materials that really find their natural home in the closeted world of manuscript publication – libellous epitaphs. This chapter investigates the way in which conventional narratives of praise are re-purposed, disrupted, and sometimes outright discarded in service of bringing shame to figures not deemed worthy of the usual encomiastic praise found in epitaphs. Specifically, I focus on how the traditional prohibition against speaking ill of the dead is handled by these texts, and what purposes might be served by doing so.

The discussion that follows will demonstrate not only that manuscripts offer unique witnesses to texts that have no other reasonable outlet in this period, but also that those epitaphs appearing in print or on stone find new and meaningful interpretive possibilities when applied to the handwritten page, placed in new combinations with other texts and presented to the reader in a style of each individual compiler's devising. More than this, manuscript epitaphs offer fascinating perspectives on the ways that relationships with and to the dead are explored within this self-consciously literary genre, and as such, I will demonstrate how these texts deepen our understanding of early modern cultures of death.

Chapter 1: What is an Epitaph? Defining and Categorising a Nebulous Genre

Introduction

What is an epitaph? It may seem perverse to begin with such an apparently straightforward question; after all, these are readily accessible texts which can be encountered 'in the wild' in churches and cemeteries across the UK, and are easily recognisable as epitaphs in this setting. They are usually quite brief commemorative texts, formal in tone, and they offer up the crucial details of the life of the deceased. They are commendatory, and usually offer some sort of respectful sentiment along the lines of 'rest in peace'. Their main defining feature though, is their presence at a graveside – even the strangest of epitaphs are still recognisable as epitaphs by their use in this specific context. However, epitaphs have also long enjoyed enduring popularity in multiple settings beyond the tomb, and early modern settings for these texts include, but are not limited to, printed collections, funeral processions, marginalia, and in the usage with which this thesis is concerned, as part of a lively culture of manuscript circulation. This presents a challenge in establishing a unifying sense of the term 'epitaph' that is inclusive of these broader contexts. It is the work of this chapter to address the fundamental instability of a genre so deeply entwined with its physical placement, and yet simultaneously so popular outside of that setting.

I argue that manuscript epitaphs challenge definitions of 'epitaph' as they are set out in other media, and that as a result, they require different critical approaches and tools compared to their stone and print counterparts. The nature of manuscript production and circulation allows for substantial flexibility in most of the areas that are usually used to define epitaphs. For example, verse compilers exhibit creative freedoms in placement, design, length of text, context of the poem, and the type of sentiments expressed – given this huge degree of variation in presentation without the stabilising influence of a tombstone, manuscript epitaphs require careful consideration to separate them from other related genres like panegyric, elegy, and *memento mori*. This chapter is concerned with addressing what it means to read a text as an epitaph through an investigation of both modern and

early modern approaches to defining the epitaph genre. Having established a critical approach for producing a stable canon of texts from which to work, the latter part of this chapter will address the practical concerns of cataloguing and classifying such poems.

I: Historical Definitions of Epitaphs

The term 'epitaph' itself gives us trouble from the outset – it is derived from Greek 'ἐπί', meaning 'upon', and 'τάφος', meaning sepulture or tomb; transposition into other media therefore immediately jeopardises secure definitions of the genre.[1] What complicates matters is that when freed from the constraints of churchyard propriety and the spatial and financial limitations of a stone or brass monument, traditional defining characteristics of epitaphs (such as brevity, reverential tone, or gestures towards proximity to a body) become far less rigid, and far more difficult to pin down. The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers a deceptively straightforward definition, which at first appears to describe the practice of composing epitaphs in a way which is inclusive of manuscript compositions:

> epitaph, *n*. An inscription upon a tomb. Hence, occasionally, a brief composition characterizing a deceased person, and expressed as if intended to be inscribed on his tombstone.[2]

While encapsulating the most broadly understood sense of the term 'epitaph' as writing found upon a tombstone, the *OED* definition remains permissive enough to extend to those compositions found in other media (such as manuscripts) which mimic the form of funerary inscriptions. However, this definition becomes slippery when one attempts to refine what it might mean to express something 'as if intended to be inscribed on his tombstone'. This simple phrase disguises a lengthy and complex history of the epitaph as a verse form that incorporates a wide range of styles, content, and purposes. What it is that marks a text as one 'intended to be inscribed on [a] tombstone' is not always clear, nor are the characteristics and uses of an epitaph static throughout its history. It is important to note that

[1] *OED Online*, 'Epitaph, n.' (Oxford University Press, 2020) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/63579> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[2] *OED Online*, 'Epitaph, n.' (Oxford University Press, 2020) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/63579> [accessed 25 November 2020].

manuscripts rarely attempt to design a page to appear as if it were a funerary monument – only a small handful of examples of this practice were uncovered by this study.[3] Although freeing the epitaph from its traditional obligations to mark a site of burial may seem counter-intuitive, I contend that it is a productive enquiry with traceable origins in antiquity, and one which is central to the way in which early modern writers composed and used epitaphs in manuscript.

Epitaphs in Antiquity

Epitaphs have a long-standing place in death rituals across a range of cultures. In relation to early modern English cultures of epitaph composition though, the earliest direct antecedent is that of the ancient Greeks. Richard P. Martin describes epitaphs as the 'earliest form of epigram' (using epigram in the sense of 'inscription'), but as a form specific to 'inscription "on a tomb"'. In the case of both 'epigram' and 'epitaph', Martin argues, 'the name explains the poetic form – its origins and its most striking characteristic, brevity.' Constrained by the size of the object upon which the text is to be inscribed, 'practical considerations [...] had literary consequences' for these texts.[4] These compact poems do not simply mark the location of a corpse, but also make creative use of limited space in order to express the grief and loss experienced by survivors. In these early examples of the genre, placement of the text and brevity of expression are significant generic markers.

The arresting *memento mori* epitaphs so popular on medieval English funerary monuments that call upon passers-by to remember the dead (and consequently, their own mortality) can trace their heritage to some of these ancient Greek epitaphs. Pre-Classical Greek epitaphs were typically inscribed onto a stone or pot, and often demanded of the reader that they stop and remember the

[3] Cambridge University Library MS DD.xi.73 ('William Whiteway's Commonplace Book') contains two poems that have had monuments drawn around the text. Both of these poems ('Here lieth rotten she, whose name indeed was Grace' and 'O yee that passe this way, I pray be not so coy', fol. 103^{r} and fol. 134^{v} respectively) are libellous 'mock epitaphs', and the illustrations are in keeping with a manuscript that contains numerous drawings. Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Archives MS DR/18/17/24/25 contains what appear to be drafts of the epitaph which was later inscribed on the monument for Sir William Leigh and his wife in St James' Church in Longborough. The page has been folded to mimic the panels of the monument. Both of these cases are unusual, and by no means representative of the rest of the epitaphs surveyed as a whole.

[4] Michael Wolfe and Richard P. Martin, *Cut these Words into My Stone: Ancient Greek Epitaphs* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), p.xiii.

dead. The epitaph offers a physical presence in the mortal world for the deceased – a living body is stopped in motion, and a voice is given to the deceased by the living. This is not merely a metaphorical turn of phrase, since it is widely understood that during this period it was entirely usual to expect that reading was performed out loud, not 'in the head', especially in the case of epitaphs.[5] Perhaps the most famous ancient example is the epitaph frequently attributed to Simonides (c556BC – c468BCE) for the Spartans slain at the battle of Thermopylae. One of the earliest named composers of epitaphs, Simonides of Cleos commemorates the sacrifice and fortitude of the 300 Spartans who fought to the death at Leonidas' command:

> Stranger, take the news back to the Spartans
>
> That we lie here, who followed their commands.[6]

Simonides demands not only speech from the passer-by, but also direct action. By reading the epitaph, the passer-by is burdened (or perhaps, honoured) with the role of messenger, having been asked to narrate both the death and the loyalty of the fallen Spartans. An epitaph in this context is not simply a commemoration, but a performative speech act demanded of the living, which calls the dead into being.

Then as now, though, there exist practical reasons why even the most traditional of epitaphs cannot be placed at the site of a burial, suggesting interpretive possibilities for the genre as separated from its proximity to the body. Merchants, soldiers, sailors, and other travellers did not always make it home for burial, and in cases where the body was lost, a memorial complete with an epitaph could be constructed without the remains. Under these circumstances, the epitaph preserves the fiction of a

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[5] Opinions vary on the extent to which reading aloud was a common practice. Jesper Svenbro argues that *kléos*, 'the technical term for what the poet bestows on individuals who have accomplished something remarkable' (often simply translated as 'fame') is necessarily acoustic, going so far as to claim that 'If *kléos* is not acoustic, it is not *kléos*'. In the case of sepulchral inscriptions, there is, therefore an expectation that the epitaph will be read aloud. See Jasper Svenbro, *Phrasikleia: An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece*, trans. by Janet Lloyd (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 14-15.
See also A. K. Gavrilov, 'Techniques of Reading in Classical Antiquity' for a discussion of the evidence for the practice of reading silently in Classical antiquity (*The Classical Quarterly*, 47 (1997), 56-73. Accessed via <http://www.jstor.org/stable/639597> [accessed 25 November 2020]).

[6] Wolfe and Martin, *Cut these Words into My Stone: Ancient Greek Epitaphs*, p.33.

normal burial and provides a site for remembrance, even though the situational connection between text and body that an epitaph would usually demand has been forcibly severed. Cenotaphic inscriptions sometimes openly acknowledge this process, for example, Callimachus' (c305BCE – c240BCE) epitaph for Sopolis tells us that the mourners 'bow our heads in passing, | Not to him – to a name on an empty tomb' after his body was lost at sea.[7] The theme of passing by a site of burial and speaking aloud is clearly important enough to be preserved, even without the presence of Sopolis' physical remains.

Cenotaphic inscriptions pave the way for a further break between inscription and body, with the emerging practice of copying epitaphs onto paper. This leap onto paper leads to examples that place much less emphasis on proximity to the dead, and the solemn responsibility to speak the words of the deceased. The *OED*'s expectation that an epitaph will '[characterize] a deceased person' and be 'expressed as if intended to be inscribed on his tombstone' is sometimes only fulfilled in an oblique manner in such texts.[8] For example, the Milan Papyrus (dated between late third century, and early second century BCE) is noted for containing a number of epigrams attributed to the celebrated epigrammatist Posidippus. Many of these texts address the subject of death with the gravity and poise one might expect for the genre, but still others strike a radically different tone that perhaps does not meet obvious expectations for something expressed as if it might be placed at a site of remembrance. Collected in a section labelled '*tropoi*', or 'characters', one epitaph for a Cretan man named Menoítios demands:

> Why have you stopped, won't let me sleep,
>
> And, standing near my gravestone, keep
>
> On asking from what land I came,

[7] Wolfe and Martin, *Cut these Words into My Stone: Ancient Greek Epitaphs*, p.84.
[8] *OED Online*, 'Epitaph, n.' (Oxford University Press, 2020) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/63579> [accessed 25 November 2020].

And who's my father, what's my name?[9]

The deceased proceeds to give his name, father's name, and home country, before demanding that the passer-by at this imaginary gravesite walk on, declaring 'We foreigners don't like much talking'. Posidippus toys with standard conventions of epitaphs - defined here as the necessity of stopping to read aloud the name, lineage, and nationality of the deceased – by having the misanthropic Cretan offer these details rather begrudgingly. The epitaph contains the necessary components to be considered as 'expressed as if intended to be inscribed on his tombstone', but the wry, comic tone of the piece collected as an assembly of 'characters' indicates that this amusing epitaph was intended to be circulated as a literary text, never as a commemorative one. The content of the piece marks it as an epitaph or grave marker, but the tone is so divorced from that which one may expect to find 'intended to be inscribed on a tombstone' that it undermines the truth of this statement.

The *OED* definition cannot be consistently reconciled to the texts, even in relation to these early examples of the genre. Nonetheless, these poems offer some characteristic features, if not quite defining criteria that resonate into the works of early modern manuscript compilers. These poems are used either to mark, or to fictionalise the marking of a graveside, and are typified by brevity. More than this, they call the reader to some kind of action in summarising the life and particulars of the deceased, defining their place in a still-living world. For all the sombre responsibility this entails, playful and fictional possibilities for the genre also exist that indulgently make fun of both the dead, and the expectations that the living place on their commemoration. There has always been space for off-tomb, or bodiless expressions of an epitaph-like nature, and epitaphs which play with, or fail to meet these expectations can still be recognised as part of the genre, recommending a permissive attitude towards what counts and does not count as an epitaph.

[9] Gordon L. Fain, *Ancient Greek Epigrams: Major Poets in Verse Translation* (University of California Press, 2010), p. 95.

Early Modern Definitions of Epitaphs

Early modern epitaphs inherit from a far broader range of cultures than ancient Greek epitaphs alone (perhaps most significantly of course, the Christian culture in which they are written), but many of these same core concerns regarding definitions of the form are still played out in early modern manuscript collections. These texts embrace many of the classical conventions discussed above (particularly in relation to giving the dead a voice in the living realm), while also remaining creative innovators in the form, developing new styles tailored to the literary tastes and social context of the time. An appetite for printed collections of epitaphs emerges, and alongside it, we see multiple commentators offering their interpretation of what might constitute a poem written as though it were 'intended to be inscribed on a tombstone', even when it has moved off of a stone monument, and onto the printed page.

William Camden's *Remaines Concerning Britain* contains one of the most iconic printed collections of churchyard inscriptions, but it offers little in the way of decisive standards for epitaphs, and what distinguishes them from other expressions of mourning. Camden notes that:

> ...among all funeral honours, Epitaphes have alwaies been most respectiue, for in them loue was shewed to the deceased, memory was continued to posterity, friends were comforted, and the reader put in mind of humane fraielty.
>
> The inuention of them proceeded from the presage or forfeeling of immortality implanted in all men naturally, and is referred to the schollers of *Linus*, who first bewayled their maister when he was slaine, in dolefull verses then called of him *Ælinum*, afterward *Epitaphia*, for that they were first song at Burialls, after engraued vpon the sepulchers. [10]

[10] William Camden, *Remaines of a greater worke, concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their languages, names, surnames, empreses, wise speeches, poësies, and epitaphes* (London: George Eld for Simon Waterson, 1605), p. 28, sig. d2^{v}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 4521. Accessed via <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99843109e> [accessed 25 November 2020].

Camden's description of the epitaph form offers us numerous roles that an epitaph is expected to play that justify its rarefied status as the 'most respective' form of funeral honour. The text must not only continue the memory of the deceased into posterity, but also generate a specifically emotional focus which transcends the boundary of death. The living are both comforted and reminded of their own mortality, but it is also noteworthy that Camden regards this as a somewhat reciprocal exchange, in which the deceased is also an active recipient of the emotional consolation of an epitaph, with love being 'shewed to the deceased'. This has some particularly interesting implications given the Post-Reformation context of this text. As we shall see discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, purgatory is usually considered a space for the dead to commune with the living to some degree, requesting prayers for a speedy transition to heaven. Even after purgatory ceases to be part of the Christian framework for understanding death, Camden still regards epitaphs as a means by which the living and the dead might comfort one another, recalling the performative nature of ancient Greek texts that figuratively bring the deceased into the world of the living.

The specific process by which the living are comforted in their grief is not clear – Camden does not tell us whether comfort lies in the composition of the epitaph, the reading of it, or the mere knowledge of its existence as a means of continuing the memory of the deceased. Some early modern epitaphs engage with these questions directly, and offer a sense of epitaphs behaving as an active strategy for comfort. For example, an epitaph on Thomas Sackville, 1st Earl of Dorset, (d. 1608) moves from overwhelming grief in which the speaker laments that 'My pen did ner expect to deck thy herse | with the black enseigne of a mournefull verse', to an uneasy acceptance of death as decreed by God, in which, 'in vayne my eies with teares oreflowe | what is decreed aboue must stand belowe'.[11] Such reconciliation to the fact of death is apparently achieved in the process of writing verses which would accompany the corpse to the grave, suggesting cathartic possibilities for the act of writing itself. Sometimes the epitaph comforts the reader by explicitly stating that the spirit of the deceased is

[11] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Additional 9221, fol. 100^{v}.

eternal or that they are at peace, even going so far as to have the dead address the living directly, as in this brief epitaph for Gian Giacomo Trivulzio (d.1518, described as 'servitor to Henry VIII'), 'I finde the rest within my graue | which in my lif I Could not haue'.[12] Not all epitaphs engage explicitly with ideas of comfort, but the more serious tend to offer a reassuring sense of continuity in the way in which the name, age, and family of the deceased are listed, suggesting that the epitaph is an inherently 'comforting' genre which serves to assuage grief.

Camden's identification of epitaphs as a genre able to commemorate and comfort is not unusual – as we have seen, these are concerns which some epitaphs even address directly. Perhaps more unusual is his suggestion that the writing of epitaphs is spurred by the 'forefeeling of immortality implanted in all men naturally'.[13] The composition of epitaphs is therefore given a spiritual aspect, where man's inherent knowledge of his potential for immortality in Christ naturally results in the composition of an epitaph, framing the epitaph as a divine, God-given discourse. Combined with the impulse to remember one's own mortality, the epitaph is represented as a crucial form of religious dialogue between man, God, and the dead. Perhaps of most significance to the matter of determining defining characteristics between epitaph and elegy, Camden describes no distinction between the content of the two, but instead divides the two genres in relation to reception and context. The same text may potentially serve as both elegy and epitaph if first sung, and then inscribed upon a site of burial. Key motivations, if not features, of an epitaph are outlined, but again, attempts at definition founder at what happens to an 'epitaph' when it is no longer inscribed on a tomb. Camden offers us no comment on the status of the texts that have made the leap from stone to print in his own collection, nor any comment on the validity of the comic epitaphs included in his collection (which are unlikely to have ever graced a real-life tomb).

[12] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 108^{v}.
[13] Camden, *Remaines*, p. 28.

Alongside Camden's *Remaines Concerning Britain*, John Weever's *Antient Funeral Monuments* represents an equally influential printed collection of early modern funerary inscriptions. While Weever makes note of Camden's more religiously-oriented definition, his own definition of the genre is much simpler and more secular. He explains:

> Now, an Epitaph is a superscription (either in verse or prose) or an astrict pithie Diagram, writ, carued, or engrauen, vpon the tomb, graue, or sepulchre of the defunct, briefly declaring (and that sometimes with a kinde of commiseration) the name, the age, the deserts, the dignities, the state, the praises both of body and minde, the good or bad fortunes in the life, and the manner and time of the death of the person therein interred.[14]

Like Camden, Weever regards location as the primary condition for a text to be regarded as an epitaph, but his definition of the term is much more concerned with the expected content of the epitaph, not just its location. It is also reminiscent of the expectations set out by Posidippus' grouchy Cretan who tires of each passer-by asking for the details of his family, hometown, and his name. Unlike Camden, Weever is far more interested in factual data about the life and death of the deceased than emotional expression – he gives a comprehensive list of biographical information expected to be provided by an epitaph, but the idea that an epitaph may also include 'a kind of commiseration' is only noted as an optional feature. Weever's definition of an epitaph only incidentally recognises it as a vehicle for mourning and comfort. While churchyard epitaphs are frequently restricted to such bare biographical information as Weever describes, expressions of grief are not uncommon in engravings (they represent much of the material for Camden and Weever's work), and the more lyrical and emotive epitaphs form the majority of the type of epitaphs found in manuscripts.

Weever's utilitarian approach to defining epitaphs is not unique in this period. James Ley, a founding member of the early modern Society of Antiquaries, writes in his paper 'Of Epitaphs' that epitaphs can

[14] John Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments with in the vnited monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the ilands adiacent* […] (London: Thomas Harper, 1631), p. 8, sig. B4^{v}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 4521. Accessed via <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99853313e> [accessed 25 November 2020].

be found in 'stone, timber, brass, [and] lead', although he makes no mention of the proliferation of epitaphs composed for manuscript circulation.[15] In his analysis of the form, Ley recognises three distinct categories of epitaphs: firstly, the 'declamatory' epitaph, which tends to begin 'hic iacet' (here lies); secondly, the 'dedicatory' epitaph, which will refer to 'colendissimo' (the most honourable); and lastly, 'petitory' epitaphs which will feature some form of the phrase 'orate pro' (pray for). Besides these three rudimentary categories, Ley has similar expectations to Weever when it comes to content. An epitaph should include 'the name and addition, the day and year of the death; accidental, the dwelling place, his children, his vertues and commendation'.[16] Besides recognising the pre-Reformation tradition of 'petitory' epitaphs, Ley's paper makes little acknowledgement of any religious or emotional functions for epitaphs.

Few defining characteristics are consistently recognised by early modern commentators on epitaphs, and the epitaph is defined almost exclusively by these writers in terms of its location at a site of burial and its functional purpose of recording whose remains are interred there. None of these influential writers recognise epitaphs collected in or composed for other media – nor do Weever and Camden offer comment on the status of the 'epitaphs' they collect once they have been taken from their churchyard context and translated into printed volumes. The understanding of what might set an epitaph apart from other funerary verses (such as elegy, *memento mori*, and to some degree, panegyric) and make it recognisable as its own distinct genre is assumed, but not stated.

II: Modern Definitions of Epitaphs

While early modern epitaphs are poorly represented in scholarly discussion when they appear in a manuscript context, they are much more widely discussed when they appear in print or as an engraving. As such, modern scholarship offers several attempts at defining this nebulous genre that

[15] James Ley, 'Of Epitaphs', in *A Collection of Curious Discourses Written by Eminent Antiquaries upon several Heads in our English Antiquities*, ed. by Thomas Hearne (Oxford: Thomas Hearne, 1720), pp.201-203 sigs. CC1^{r}-CC2^{r} (p. 202); *ESTC* T112502. Accessed via <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0801100100> [accessed 25 November 2020]. This text had an earlier circulation in manuscript (James Ley died in 1629), but this is the first authoritative printed edition.

[16] Ley, 'Of Epitaphs', p. 203.

can be brought to bear here, though some of these are more easily mapped on to manuscript texts than others.

Distinctions from Elegy

Given the malleability of the epitaph genre as described by early modern verse collectors, one of the main challenges to a modern reader lies in sifting apart epitaphs from another popular form of funerary verse, the elegy. Formal definitions of elegy such as the one found in the *OED* offer little guidance as to how the two genres can be separated when found in the fluid environment that manuscript provides. It defines elegy as:

> Elegy, n. A song or poem of lamentation, esp. for the dead; a memorial poem.[17]

Such clear separation between the two verse forms is not necessarily present in manuscript texts, where the line between a 'memorial poem' and 'a brief composition characterizing a deceased person, and expressed as if intended to be inscribed on his tombstone' is not distinct. There is not always a clear rationale for the conditions each individual compiler would consider necessary to regard a poem as written in a style that may be inscribed on a burial place, and which poems offer the more musical, lyric connotations of the elegy.

Dennis Kay's work on the English tradition of elegies offers some principles by which elegies can be understood as a distinct verse form. Kay regards the elegy as a highly adaptable form, and argues that elegists 'had a marked degree of freedom to improvise, to imitate, or invent', making the elegy 'in some senses the quintessential Renaissance kind, in whose performance a high value was placed on those qualities especially prized in Renaissance theories of composition.' This malleability made elegiac writing accessible to writers of all ages and calibres, making the elegy 'a kind of laboratory in which they learned about composition […] a medium for interrogating and comprehending principles

[17] *OED Online*, 'Elegy, n.' (Oxford University Press, 2020) <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/60350> [accessed 25 November 2020].

of composition – a training in understanding the components of art and the disciplines of the craft.'[18] As such, Kay does not attempt to offer any straightforward definitions of the elegy, but he does provide a number of features these poems tend to share.

The first of these characteristics is the focus on elegy as, rather like the related genre of the funeral sermon, structured and defined according to its 'occasion, more than by generic expectations or prescription'.[19] This is of course, a distinction which holds widely across a great deal of Renaissance verse, especially in manuscript. Arthur Marotti's *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* begins by discussing Renaissance lyric verse as 'occasional' in character, with the composition of lyric verse forming 'part of social life, associated with a variety of practices in polite and educated circles'. This poetry was 'embedded in specific social situations, and writers and audiences responded to it both within the immediate context and in terms of shared sociocultural assumptions.'[20] Readers and listeners of elegies knew them as such from their context, not simply from a catalogue of predictable generic features – Kay offers that this context is similar to 'prayers spoken over the body' since 'from ancient times it has been associated with the period up to and surrounding burial'.[21] This is a crucial way to mark the two genres apart. Where elegies are temporally associated with a specific stage of the bereavement process that comes before a burial, the epitaph is 'connected, whether actually or fictionally, with the tomb', and is therefore assumed to represent a period sometime after the burial process is complete.[22] If there is little distinction to be made between the two genres in terms of content, it is because they are texts with extremely similar functions, but that solemnise slightly different stages of the bereavement process. In comparison to the elegy (which is 'associated with the death, with the funeral'), an epitaph is 'associated with the erection of a monument, and implying a

[18] Dennis Kay, *Melodious Tears: The English Funeral Elegy from Spenser to* Milton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 6.
[19] Kay, *Melodious Tears*, p. 6.
[20] Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995) pp. 2-7.
[21] Kay, *Melodious Tears*, p. 6.
[22] Kay, *Melodious Tears*, p. 6.

less emotionally coloured, more conclusive, response to death'.[23] Compared to this more 'distanced' approach to epitaphic expression, Kay ventures that the role of the speaker in an elegy is much like that which is found in sonnets, insofar as the elegy 'constituted a space in which writers felt encouraged to write introspectively, to make themselves their own subject'.[24] The epitaph commemorates the dead and recognises their placement, where the elegy centralises the experience of the mourner.

These distinctions between epitaph and elegy based on the occasion they represent, and the degree of emotional involvement of the speaker can be helpful in relation to lapidary inscriptions, which as Kay identifies, tend towards this trend of functionality and emotional distance (though of course, with exceptions). However, this is not necessarily a clear indication of genre in manuscript epitaphs, which serve a wider range of purposes than their stone counterparts and therefore blur these distinctions to a greater extent. The practice of affixing epitaphs to a hearse during funeral proceedings for example, places epitaphs in a funerary, pre-burial context which would normally be occupied by the elegy, and provide a more temporary form of commemoration than a stone monument.[25] Many of these texts are accordingly highly emotive. For example, a poem labelled as a 'Laudatory Epitaph' for John Nicholls, vicar of Longashton (d. 1622) cautions that, ''Tis no addition to his Glorious herse | To sing His praise, or Ballad out a verse', but continues to defend the mourners' need for space for profuse grief, since 'Sorrow would burst vs, if Itt had no vente'.[26] Not all hearse epitaphs will necessarily declare themselves as such, making it plausible that many other emotive, grief-centred epitaphs were actually used (or intended to be used) in a pre-burial context where elegies were perhaps more commonly associated.

[23] Kay, *Melodious Tears*, p. 65.
[24] Kay, *Melodious Tears*, p. 8.
[25] See Ralph Anthony Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.328. Houlbrooke describes how verses were 'fixed to hearses and monuments […] They also passed from hand to hand, and were often printed. Some odes and elegies were commissioned; many more were the unsolicited testimonies of friends, admirers, and young poets keen to make their names.'
[26] Washington, D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library (FSL), MS V.a.103, fol. 10^{r}.

Andrea Brady's work on early modern elegy approaches these texts a little differently, noting that 'Perceptive critics such as Ruth Wallerstein, O. B. Hardison and Dennis Kay have focussed on elegy's generic rules, rather than on the emotional experience these poems might convey'.[27] Brady's approach to the study of elegy involves penetrating the veneer of generic convention in order to address the emotional realities of loss that lie beneath such texts. She does so by considering elegies as a ritualised process, part of the larger 'mortuary ritual' that extends 'From the sickbed, through the liminal period of watching and preparing the corpse, to the commemorative ceremonies which might stretch over months or years' after the death. This series of extended rituals influences both the dying and the bereaved, who are marked as distinct from the rest of living society in their role as mourners before being re-integrated into their community, with rituals working to 'punctuate the time it takes them to grieve'.[28] In the study that follows, Brady considers the elegy in terms of the poets' struggle against generic restraints in which the need to represent emotional sincerity must be balanced with the natural repetitiveness of a ritualised genre, often while attempting to garner literary patronage and payment. In terms of the real-life impact of these ritualised texts, Brady offers a detailed account of the way that elegiac poetry was incorporated into the funeral itself – for example, elegies were pinned to (and indeed torn from) hearses, as well as circulated after the end of the funeral service. These poems formed a visible part of the official work of mourning among the literate.[29]

Much like Dennis Kay's approach to elegy as a type of mournful verse in which writers turned their focus inward towards their own emotions , Brady's approach to elegy also unpicks the ways in which selfhood and personal expressions of grief are undertaken by elegy, cementing the concept of elegy as far more focused on the mourners than the dead that they commemorate. In terms of marking elegy as distinct from epitaph, Brady describes epitaphs as an 'epigram projected as or suited to monumental inscription', and while accepting of the 'ambiguities typical of "elegy" as a generic

[27] Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century: Laws in Mourning* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 3.
[28] Brady, *English Funerary Elegy*, p. 1.
[29] Brady, *English Funerary Elegy*, pp. 62-70.

category', she argues that 'the term usefully incorporates a larger range of forms and memorial practices than the epitaph'.[30] While this may be true of epitaphs that are constrained to a burial site, it is perhaps less true of the more free-form texts that circulate on paper. As discussed above, epitaphs were also used as part of funerary rituals alongside elegies, and they may well focus on the interiority of the poet and the expression of painful emotions in doing so. Additionally, the generic expectation of brevity made the shortest and pithiest epitaphs ideal for acts of unofficial inscription in the form of graffiti – Brady offers the example of an epitaph written in coal at Donne's grave, and in chapter 4, I discuss the libellous graffiti added to the lavish monument for Christopher Hatton in St Paul's Cathedral.[31] These brief and portable texts crop up in both official and unofficial capacities, as well as taking on longer, more elegy-like forms when copied into manuscript, where physical space is at less of a premium. A considerable overlap between the rhetorical possibilities of elegy and its neighbour-genre the epitaph can be observed even in Brady's exceptionally detailed study, and while Brady may consider that elegies have a 'larger range of forms and memorial practices', there is no shortage when it comes to the variety of uses for epitaphs once their manuscript forms are accounted for.

Separating elegy from epitaph is potentially a more straightforward process in a printed volume than in manuscript since, as Newstok argues in his exploration of 'off-tomb' epitaphs, early modern printed texts tended to present an elegy followed by an epitaph on the same subject, with a shift in tone between the two that marks them apart. Newstok regards this as an early modern innovation, where the move from elegy to epitaph deliberately uses the epitaph to transition from the elegiac 'work of mourning', and 'like a refrain, [the epitaph] turns attention away from the previous composition, turning instead toward the end (death) of the work itself'. This pairing departs from 'medieval models of cyclical time', and places 'a new emphasis on linear temporality'.[32] In the context of a printed text

[30] Brady, *English Funerary Elegy*, p. 11.
[31] Brady, *English Funerary Elegy*, p. 6.
[32] Scott L. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.31. See also Scott L. Newstok, 'Elegies Ending "Here": The Poetics of Epitaphic Closure', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 39.1 (2006), 75-100 (pp. 87-90). Accessed via <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A162455901/ITOF?u=anglia_itw&sid=ITOF&xid=dfb0260b> [accessed 25 November 2020]

which adopts this format, the epitaph offers a sense of closure that the elegy cannot, in that it indicates to the reader that a burial has taken place, and that the expression of grief as exemplified by the elegy, is now reaching its natural conclusion.

Examples of elegy-epitaph pairings are certainly uncommon in manuscript, but the few occasions in which they potentially appear are made complicated by the fact that they cannot always be clearly identified as an example of this particular rhetorical strategy. For example, the British Library's Harley MS 6917 contains a pair of poems by Thomas Carew on the death of George Villiers, 1st Duke Buckingham (d. 1628). The Early Stuart Libels project records both poems as elegies, though in Harl. MS 6917, the first poem ('When in the brazen leaues of fame') is titled simply 'On the duke of Buckingham' while the second poem ('Reader when those dumbe stones haue told') is titled 'An Epitaph on the duke of Buckingham'.[33] [34] Gerald Hammond's discussion of these poems refers to them as 'Epitaph poetry', although he emphasises the role of epitaphic poems about Buckingham in particular as 'less epitaphs than elements in a continuing political struggle'.[35] Scholarly opinion on the genre of these two poems is at variance, and the compiler's own titling of the texts leaves them more ambiguous still. At 32 lines long, 'When in the brazen leaues of fame' is certainly long for an epitaph, and its status as being *on* a tomb rather than simply *near* it is unclear. The poem refers to 'this pyle' and 'this shrine', suggesting presence at the grave, but also refers specifically to Buckingham's hearse, perhaps indicating the pre-burial status that Dennis Kay regards as distinctive of elegy.[36] It is possible to suggest that the compiler chose to emphasise the elegiac rather than epitaphic aspects of this poem by not titling it an epitaph, and then combined it with a second poem clearly labelled an 'epitaph' specifically in order to create the type of elegy-epitaph pairing that Newstok describes. Nonetheless, the second poem offers an even more shaky sense of being present on the grave itself, opening with

[33] "Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources." ed. by Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae. (*Early Modern Literary Studies* Text Series i, 2005). Accessed via <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels/> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[34] London, British Library (BL), Harley MS 6917, fols. 20^{v}-21^{r}.
[35] Gerald Hammond, *Fleeting Things: English Poets and Poems, 1616-1660* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 52.
[36] BL, Harl. MS 6917, fol. 21^{r}.

the lines 'Reader when *those* dumbe stones haue told | in borrowed speech what guest they hold' [emphasis mine], indicating a distance from the grave and perhaps making it a stronger candidate for the role of 'elegy' in this pairing.[37] Furthermore, there are many examples of more unambiguously epitaphic verse in this manuscript which follow the titling convention of being 'on' a given person or subject (for example, 'On a Tailour that dyed of a plurisie', or 'On Wymark a rich usurer', fols. 63^{r} and 82^{r} respectively) suggesting that texts with this type of title are intended to be read as epitaphs. These apparent 'inconsistencies' in terminology are not at all uncommon, and suggest that there is a great deal of slippage between the terms 'epitaph' and 'elegy' amongst manuscript compilers.

As a result, the epitaph does not necessarily hold the same conciliatory sense of resolution that it gains from being paired with elegy when it is viewed in print, and the pairing does not serve nearly so well as a tonal signifier of epitaph status when in manuscript. Expressions of uncertainty, fear, and grief are still very present in the epitaphs found in manuscripts, to the extent that the primary focus of the text may well be the experience of the mourner, not the exaltation of the dead. Epitaphs for Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (d. 1612) often focus on incomparable losses that cannot be met by sufficient grief to console. One poem opens by describing Henry as 'A Plant of fairest hope that euer stood | in Ida or the Callidonian wood'. The poem closes with the lines, 'this plants cut downe, and if wee for his fall | Cannot lament enough, our children shall'.[38] The poem closes by emphasising not Henry's greatness, but the inter-generational burden of grief at the loss of a prince who was regarded as the country's next great hope. Another popular epitaph for Prince Henry, 'Reader, wonder thinke it none', ventriloquises the stone monument that covers his remains, which refuses its usual duty to give the identity of the body it harbours on the logic that 'For if this should bee reueal'd | All the people passinge by | Would weepe themselues to teares and dye'.[39] These poems are recognisably epitaphs – the first is labelled as such by the compiler, and

[37] BL, Harl. MS 6917, fol. 21^{r}.
[38] Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Archives (SBT), MS DR1208, p.116.
[39] SBT, MS DR1208, p.4.

the second directly positions itself as a grave monument – but they are nonetheless poems fundamentally about the work of mourning itself, centring the experiences of the living rather than exclusively focusing on the praise of the dead.

Where discussions of literary content may be somewhat harder to pin down, one of the more easily identifiable features of an epitaph used to set it apart from elegiac counterparts is its traditional tendency towards brevity, since elegies are usually longer.[40] As has already been discussed, the tradition for epitaphic brevity begins as a practical consideration given the limited space available for an inscription on a burial place. As well as considerations regarding cost and space, other more stylistic reasons are sometimes given for the concise nature of lapidary inscriptions in this period. Ralph Houlbrooke notes that the 'epitaph was usually shorter than the elegy' as it was required in order to 'gain an audience [...] especially [...] the unknown visitor pausing, perhaps only briefly, in the secluded aisle. It therefore had to seize attention and hold the reader long enough to drive a message home'.[41] Houlbrooke does however note that while the author of an epitaph may choose brevity as a means of arresting the reader's attention, this was certainly not regarded as essential, as Lady Magdalen Hastings' (d. 1596) 96-line epitaph at Cadbury can attest.[42] Though Dennis Kay's work does not offer us a direct comparative definition between epitaph and elegy, he also regards brevity as essential to an epitaph, and very often uses 'terseness' as a means to distinguish between the two related forms of lament. For example, he refers to the way in which Nicholas Grimald 'introduced personal and particular elements into the wailing of a "funerall song" and the terseness of an epitaph', and describes Jonson's early commemorative works as 'combining restrained lapidary terseness with personal and individual local details'.[43] Elegies are effusive by nature, epitaphs tend towards restraint.

While this might be a useful rule of thumb in lapidary inscriptions, the length of a funerary verse as an indicator of genre is not always a distinction that carries over well into manuscripts, and there is

[40] See Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England*, pp. 52-3.
[41] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1750*, p. 351.
[42] As discussed in Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, *1480-1750*, p.165.
[43] Kay, *Melodious Tears*, p. 16, p. 206.

considerable variety in the length of epitaphs that compilers copy down and compose. Freed from the limitations of space offered by a gravestone and the cost of employing a stonemason, manuscript epitaphs can run to something substantially lengthier. For example, an epitaph for Edward Seymour, 1st Duke of Somerset (d. 1552) in a sixteenth-century manuscript runs to a lengthy 28 lines, and 'An Epitaph on Mister Fishborne the great London Benefactor & his executor' (d. 1625) measures a healthy 79 lines. [44] [45] Neither of these poems hold a candle to the effusive poem titled 'An Epitaph: or the Bodyes Elegie: on the death of I; B:' which extends to a substantial 108 lines.[46] This trend for lengthier texts does not only apply to those libellous epitaphs that may go out of their way to offer a comprehensive list of crimes; an epitaph written for one Lady Frevile (which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter) extends to 38 lines.[47] Nonetheless, brevity remains a very common feature of manuscript epitaphs, as is perhaps best evidenced by the way in which comical mock-epitaphs tend to be quite brief. The following popular mock-epitaph is characteristically short:

> Here lyeth Iohn Goddarde *th*[e] maker of bellowes
>
> *tha*[t] was his craftesm*an* & *th*[e] kynge of fellowes
>
> Yett for all that he coolde not scape deathe
>
> ffor he that made bellowes coolde not make ^breathe^.[48]

Texts like these function by lambasting features that a casual reader would recognise as common to epitaphs – the gesture to a body, a description of the profession and character of the deceased and the account of Goddard's demise are all typical features of an epitaph being re-presented to the reader in a comic and lighthearted way, but ultimately the text has to be recognised as an epitaph for the joke to function. Epitaphs in this comic mode tend not to run to more than about four lines, suggesting

[44] Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Archives, MS DR10/2105, fol. 4[r].
[45] London, British Library (BL), Additional MS 30982, fols. 123[r]-124[r].
[46] BL, Harl. MS 6917, fols. 77[v]-79[r].
[47] London, British Library (BL), Egerton MS 2877, fol. 106[r].
[48] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Additional 57, fol. 91[v].

that it was equally expected that a text of this type would be pithy. While brevity is certainly a very typical feature of an epitaph, once again, it cannot be regarded as a fool-proof defining characteristic.

Epitaphs and elegies are best regarded as more closely intertwined than usual when let loose in manuscript collections, with a great deal of borrowing from one tradition to another – especially given their shared space in funeral proceedings as the tradition for pinning epitaphs to a hearse brings elegy and epitaph into direct contact. We can regard brevity, 'terseness', and a focus on the commemoration of the dead rather than the emotions of the living as broad guidelines which a majority of texts will conform to, but must remain open to the possibility that compilers may treat texts that break with these conventions as unproblematically belonging to a tradition of epitaph writing.

Here Lies?

One of the few book-length studies of early modern epitaph culture, Scott Newstok's *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb*, focuses on the way that epitaphs are quoted and used beyond the traditional churchyard setting, though primarily in print rather than manuscript. Newstok's survey of English epitaphs marks a trajectory from the sixteenth century, where 'epitaph' represents a highly porous genre 'describing writing somehow related to someone's death' to the seventeenth century, where it solidifies into a 'compact literary form and proverbial or even rhetorical gesture'. Even with this rhetorical tightening, Newstok argues that the notion of 'genre' is perhaps somewhat too rigid a term to describe these texts, since '"epitaph" in this period exceeds and frequently fails to remain with even the most basic of generic boundaries'.[49] In the absence of a clear generic boundary though, Newstok offers the presence of 'some variation of "here lies"' as the unifying feature of these dislocated epitaphs that most clearly signals the attempt to mimic the style and form of an inscription upon a tomb. The gesture towards 'here' (wherever that may be) is seen to draw together 'deep cultural anxieties' regarding identity, corporeality, religion,

[49] Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England*, p.14.

memory, property, and the 'representative possibilities of language itself'.[50] This last refers to the extent to which we can trust in the capacity of language to give us a meaningful sense of 'here', given that the significance of 'here' may vary wildly according to the placement of the text at the time of reading.

'Here lies' and other phrases that indicate the presence of a body in physical space are indeed some of the most common and easily recognisable elements of an epitaph, and it neatly delivers the two predominant motivations of engraved epitaphs - that is, to record the death and mark the place of burial for a given individual. Newstok's emphasis on 'here lies' as a defining characteristic of early modern epitaphs is therefore one of the most convincing and widely applicable terms of reference by which to identify a text as at the very least having a set of preoccupations, anxieties, and aims consistent with an epitaph. Nonetheless, this is not a definition that goes without some qualification when it comes to the handling of epitaphs in manuscript. Manuscript epitaphs are produced and circulated on different terms to printed texts, and as such, come with a slightly different set of attendant concerns. Manuscript compositions sometimes require the reader to be able to recognise epitaphs without the comforting certainty of a 'here lies' statement. One way in which this comes about is by the incredibly personal nature of some of the manuscripts in question. Manuscript epitaphs may simply represent an assembly of popular texts, (often derived directly from printed content in the context of commonplacing), but they can also contain material of a more intimate character. Epitaphs written for friends and relatives by the bereaved themselves frequently rely heavily on oft-repeated tropes regarding death, but there are also examples that use the manuscript space to innovate, and use other contextual cues such as placement on the page, or neighbouring texts to clearly delineate poems as epitaphs even without some of its more traditional trappings. Newstok's treatment of epitaphs attempts to distinguish between 'textual', 'literary', or 'poetic' epitaphs (those which are 'more often than not, only purportedly inscribed in stone' or of the 'least

[50] Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England*, pp.36-7.

factual and verifiable' class of epitaph) and the epitaphs that verifiably appeared on a grave, concerned as he is with the re-citing of funerary texts from the context of a grave into other media.[51] This approach is harder to justify when manuscript compilers *embrace* the lack of 'here-ness' or proximity to a tomb in their collections, and deliberately combine inscriptions, hearse epitaphs and unpublishable libels in the same conceptual space, often with the effect of producing their own imaginative paper graveyards.

One such example of a highly personalised take on composing epitaphs for loved ones can be found in the commonplace book of Gilbert Frevile (British Library Egerton 2877), which contains a wide variety of material including, but not limited to: histories, rent records, epitaphs, lyric verse, prayers, and sermons. Amongst these miscellaneous texts is an opening that contains commemorative verses for Frevile's brother George (d. 1619), and his wife Lady Frevile (d. 1630). Some of the poems collected in this section are readily marked as epitaphs by variants on 'here lies', for example, the insistence in the poem for Lady Frevile that the reader 'Come neare & see, what all shall be'.[52] An acrostic verse commemorating George Frevile on the other hand, only mentions a burial place as an abstract concept rather than a specific place, and is only used to indicate that neither 'Graue, earth nor Tombe, shall ere obscure thie fame', with no sense of immediate presence at the graveside.[53] At a later date, a copy of the actual tomb inscription has been crammed into the margin between these two poems by rotating the volume 90 degrees, and serves the purpose of marking 'this one Tombe' that now contains both bodies.[54] Until such times as the actual tomb inscription was added as an anchor to the place of rest, the acrostic poem existed comfortably as an epitaph without reference to the presence of a body. 'Here lies' is not necessarily marked by the content of the poem in a manuscript, but by the fact that it is placed 'here' amongst other poems that the compiler had deemed to be of the same kind.

[51] Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England*, pp. 35 and 107.
[52] London, British Library (BL), Egerton MS 2877, fol. 106^{r}.
[53] BL, Egerton MS 2877, fol. 105^{v}.
[54] BL, Egerton MS 2877, fol. 105^{v}.

The other major difficulty of transferring the rules of engagement for epitaphs from print to manuscript is that studies of printed texts necessarily exclude the majority of the libellous, comic and often crude epitaphs that are extremely popular in early modern manuscripts. These texts would not pass the censor, and many are so scandalous that the possession of them could result in prosecution for libel. It is significant that it was the circulation of a libellous epitaph for Archbishop Whitgift at his funeral that resulted in Edward Coke's punitive redefinition of *scandalum magnatum* in the early seventeenth century, making libellous epitaphs substantially more dangerous items to own. These poems were completely unsuitable for the printed market, and as we shall see in Chapter 4, offer their own set of challenges and rhetorical possibilities when it comes to using a genre most closely associated with praise to represent scandal. These subversive epitaphs often directly challenge, mimic, or ignore convention in their commemoration of the dead, and this can result in epitaphs with distorted or missing 'here lies' statements.

Two epitaphs for royalty in a pair of early seventeenth century manuscripts - one commendatory, one libellous - challenge the suggestion that 'here lies' is a defining characteristic for epitaphs, and demonstrate the way in which the lack of 'here lies' statement may be used for effect to either praise or disgrace. A poem commemorating the death of King Charles IX of France (d. 1574) from Cambridge MS Add. 57 ('A hinderance to *th*^{e} wycked sorte, but vantage to *th*^{e} good') offers no sense of proximity to a tomb or a corpse, but still marks itself as an epitaph by mentioning the recent death of the subject and offering the reader a catalogue of the deceased's characteristics - although in this case, we are treated to a list of vices, not virtues. This blazon of faults mimics and subverts the reverential tone in which poets tend to list the noble nature and great acts of deceased public figures in epitaphs. Charles is described as a 'butcher of the iuste' (presumably referring to the St Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572), 'A breaker of enacted lawes' and a 'transgressor of the right' who is 'Infam'd for luste & ire'.[55] The poem is marked as an epitaph through its mockery of the conventions of the genre, and by the

[55] CUL, MS Add. 57, fol. 67^{v}.

way in which it is collected alongside other epitaphs. The 'here lies' statement is absent, and is just one of the ways in which our traditional expectations of an epitaph are carefully subverted to form a polemical critique of Charles' bloody rule.

In our other example of royal commemoration lacking a 'here lies' statement, a poem on the death of King James I & VI (d. 1625) found in BL Additional MS 30982 ('for two an twentie yeares of care') is more conventionally made up almost entirely of a list of praises, including James' 'two and twentie yeares of care', his 'prouiding such an heyre', and his joining of 'two firce kingdomes', amongst other accolades.[56] The absent 'here lies' statement and laudatory mode puts this poem in close alignment with the genre of panegyric – yet it is titled an epitaph in multiple manuscripts, as well as in the 1636 edition of Camden's *Remaines concerning Britain*, indicating that to an early modern reader, this text was distinguishable as an epitaph.[57] The poem for King James was certainly regarded as an epitaph by the compiler of BL Add. MS 30982, having titled it, 'An Epitaph on K*ing* Iames' (ascribed here to George Morley), yet it claims neither proximity to the corpse, nor a fictional space on a tombstone. Instead, having listed his virtues, it asks the reader to mark James' tomb, and 'write ore his dust | Iames the Peacefull, & *th*^{e} Iust' without ever actually claiming that this poem itself graces that hallowed space.[58] This is not exactly the 'here lies' statement that Newstok refers to in his work – while it does acknowledge that somewhere a body is buried, this epitaph is self-consciously set apart from whatever inscription actually lies over James' dust – whatever can be found on his tomb, this poem is not it. Instead, the poet distances himself from the honoured position of being the one to mark the site of burial, and offers this role to the reader. Each time the poem is read, it asks the reader not only to passively remember their king, but to take positive commemorative action in writing 'ore his dust'. Removing this 'epitaph' from the site of burial commemorates the life of the king, and makes the

[56] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 59^{v}.
[57] The Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse records nine manuscript witnesses to this poem, five of which explicitly use the term 'epitaph' in the title. The poem also appears in William Camden's *Remaines concerning Britaine* (London: Thomas Harper for John Waterson, 1636) p. 399, sig. Eee4^{r}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 4525. Accessed via <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99857279e> [accessed 25 November 2020]. The poem is listed in a section titled 'Epitaphes'.
[58] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 59^{v}.

reader an active participant in sustaining his memory – James is 'buried' wherever the poem may be read. When copied into manuscript, this epitaph promotes the act of writing on paper to the sacred act of writing upon a tomb, and the epitaph becomes part of a 'paper graveyard'. The work being done here is not the same as that of the standard 'here lies' statement, but is a carefully considered reworking of the expected declaration of 'here-ness' that legitimises the work of commemoration that takes places between the pages of a private manuscript and valorises individual grief.

By contrast, the libellous epitaph for Charles IX offers no gesture to the location of the body at all, whether it be distant or close. The catalogue of vices is offered to the reader with no regard to the finality of death or sense of resolution that reference to a tomb might provide – instead, the poem's final line leaves us with Charles' status as 'A fylthye spotte to valois bloodde and to *th*^{e} Royall Race' continuing in perpetuity.[59] As well as continuing Charles' perceived disgrace past the limit of his natural lifespan, the lack of reference to a grave or a body maintains a metaphorical 'distance' from him and his rule rather than the fictitious proximity that other manuscript epitaphs try to offer. In certain other libellous epitaphs, additional sting may be given by suggesting that the accusations are so fitting as to have somehow found their way onto a gravestone, but perhaps even a fictionalised 'visit' to the grave suggests placing the reader in a position which may imply mourning, or paying respects to the deceased. Charles IX's rule was marred by continual religious strife, most notably the five-day-long massacre of Huguenots in Paris, and while the omission of a 'here lies' statement serves to imply that no respects are due at Charles' graveside, it may also indicate a Protestant readership that simply does not see itself visiting a site of Catholic worship and remembrance at all. The poem is no less an epitaph for its refusal to appear as if inscribed near a body, but instead rejects this convention to deliberately distance the audience from the deceased.

[59] CUL, MS Add. 57, fol. 67^{v}.

Soothing Anxieties

It would be inaccurate to suggest that examples such as these are the norm, as far more often than not an epitaph will gesture to the location of a body. The sense of proximity to the body remains a common indication that a poem is an epitaph, but the examples above serve to demonstrate that it cannot be regarded as a conclusive tool for identifying epitaphs in manuscript and that other factors also need to be taken into consideration. The proximity to the body does, however, demonstrate other criteria for the purpose and use of an epitaph. As I have briefly touched on above, Newstok sees the 'here lies' statement as one which draws together a catalogue of cultural anxieties relating to death and the practices of remembrance. Not only are anxieties regarding the identity of the deceased raised by 'here lies', but also of the efficacy of the epitaph as a form of permanent remembrance, and Newstok claims that 'the statement "here" yearns to be read and respected in perpetuity'.[60] The role of an epitaph, then, is to soothe these anxieties with statements of longstanding remembrance.

This becomes a challenging function for early modern epitaphs, as this is an era in which perpetuity felt particularly precarious. After the break with Rome and the dissolution of the monasteries, sacred sites were broken up and sold off by the authorities, and often subsequently destroyed or looted by the locals in ways that seriously jeopardised ongoing remembrance. Ethan H. Shagan describes the dissolution and looting of Hailes Abbey in the early 1540s, with illegal 'wrecking crews' working at night to dismantle and sell off the parts of the building in a 'massive operation' that included everyone from well-to-do 'local worthies' to the comparatively poor.[61] Shagan's study involves examining the extent to which such acts represented deliberate iconoclasm or simply opportunistic money-making – amongst these findings are details of the role of one Thomas Hopkins in the spoliation, who acted as a ringleader for the illegal dismantling of the building. Hopkins was a monk of Hailes at the time of its dissolution who then became a chaplain in a reform-minded household, and it seems that his

[60] Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England*, p. 37.
[61] Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 176-180.

involvement in the spoliation of Hailes was at least partially evangelical in nature. This former monk was recorded as having sold several loads of stone dug up from inside the church, presumed to have included torn-up gravestones.[62] These early acts of destruction were later followed up by more concerted efforts at removing or defacing grave monuments in churches that no longer conformed to the orthodox teachings of the English church, such that Elizabeth I eventually found it necessary to issue a proclamation preventing wanton destruction.[63] This destructive impulse stems to some degree from the change in doctrine regarding the afterlife, as the loss of purgatory reshaped cultural practices relating to funerary rites and remembrances to accommodate this change. In this context, the desire for perpetual remembrance becomes a source of anxiety. Even in the absence of a 'here lies' statement, funerary verse of this period tends towards the same sources of apprehension as those epitaphs that gesture to a place of burial, focusing on ways in which remembrance can be assured beyond the site of the tomb.

One particularly striking example of this preoccupation with attempting to soothe social anxiety following a death can be found in Richard Corbett's poem on the death of Queen Anne of Denmark (consort to James I & VI, d. 1619) found in BL Add MS 30982. The poem largely concerns itself with the difficulties of writing an appropriate epitaph for the Queen, before suggesting that no poem will suffice, and that instead:

> [...] the Queenes Epitaph shall be
>
> noo other then her pedigree
>
> for lines in blud cut out are stronger
>
> Then lines in marble and last longer
>
> Then such a verse shall neuer fade

[62] Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, pp.180-185.

[63] See Elizabeth I, *A proclamation against breakinge or defacing of monumentes of antiquitie, beyng set up in churches or other publique places for memory and not for superstition* (London: Richard Iugge and Iohn Cawood, 1560); *STC* (2nd ed.) 7913. Accessed via JISC Historical Texts <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm33151096e> [accessed 25 November 2020].

What is begotten & not made.[64]

Two central anxieties pervade this poem – the anxiety regarding the loss of fame and remembrance over time, and the anxiety regarding the continuation of the royal line following the death of a senior member of the royal family. Corbett attempts to circumvent both concerns by writing this epitaph-within-an-elegy; he draws attention to the insufficiency of a standard epitaph in terms of creating a permanent legacy, and offers the reader a better alternative which will 'last longer' by imagining Anne's descendants as her rightful epitaph. In asserting that Anne's bloodline will be more enduring than any marble monument, Corbett simultaneously offers the reader reassurance against further dynastic upheaval, and that Anne's memory will be preserved in perpetuity through the unbroken rule of her ancestors. The poem ends with the further reassurance against change following a death, by venturing that what little change has been wrought on Anne by death has only caused an increase in her glory, since upon the Queen's passage from this world, 'God crownes a saint, not kills a Queene'.[65] Corbett's concept of an epitaph here is one which soothes fears and minimises changes wrought by death and the anxiety they may provoke.

The site of an epitaph is not only a place to mark a body, but is also a space in which to work through fears and concerns about death and the changes it has wrought in the community. Epitaphs are a fundamentally uneasy genre – they represent a society's best attempt to define the experience of death and negotiate a way to mitigate the losses incurred when a member of the community dies. Underpinning the epitaph genre is a sense of anxiety, and the poems produced often represent the compulsion to give voice to these concerns and mark them down. 'Here lies' provides a convenient nexus for worries about death, remembrance, change and permanence, but perhaps can be more accurately considered symptomatic of what an epitaph is typically trying to achieve rather than definitive of it.

[64] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 42^{r}.
[65] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 42^{r}.

Epitaphs as a Test Case for Genre Theory

As well as the more literary and historical attempts at defining epitaphs outlined above, epitaphs also make for an interesting test-case for genre theorists precisely because of the inherent instability of a form that is typically defined by its placement (i.e. at a graveside), but yet remains recognisable in other media and in different locations. Discussions such as these shed some light on how epitaphs have been characteristically recognised (or indeed, *not* recognised) as a genre, and offer some suggestions as to how genre theory may help in offering an approximate definition of epitaphs as they appear in manuscripts.

In his discussion of genre theory, John Frow discusses genre as a concept that 'defines a set of expectations which guide our engagement with texts', an 'anticipatory structure' that is 'based on the cues we receive when we first encounter a text'. He argues that we could describe the process of reading as 'a process of progressive refinement and adaptation of the sense we make of those cues'.[66] Genre is not inherent to either a text or a reader, but is 'part of a relationship between texts and readers […] it is a shared convention with a social force', and the assumptions we make about genre and its associated conventions will structure our reading of the text, guiding and limiting our interpretation of it accordingly.[67] We should not treat the text as an isolated source of generic cues, but rather, we need to examine the wider context in which it is written, circulated, displayed, and used to determine its boundaries.

Frow regards the 'situation' of a text as one of the guiding principles by which we make these educated guesses as to the genre of something we are reading, and treats the situational placement of a text as integral to the way we perceive it. He claims that:

> [...] it is not the formal features [of the text] in themselves that lead us to make a different generic assignment [...] it is, rather, the different *framings*

[66] John Frow, *Genre*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), p.113.
[67] Frow, *Genre*, p. 112.

> [author's italics] of the two texts, their placing in different contexts, that govern the different salience of their formal features.[68]

This socially-oriented model for generic definitions is compelling, especially given the social nature of many manuscript texts in this period. Poems in particular are circulated amongst a coterie of readers who borrow and copy texts from one another's manuscripts.[69] When a reader titles a text 'An Epitaph' (a fairly common practice), it is not unreasonable to assume that such a designation comes with the weight of broad agreement from within a group of readers. While it is satisfying to regard texts as epitaphs simply by general agreement amongst contemporary users, this does not settle the matter of texts which are *not* explicitly labelled as epitaphs, but which we may nonetheless identify as such, and it is here that Frow's discussion of framing and situational placement of a text becomes more challenging.

Frow refers to the epitaph as a genre that is marked apart from others by the fact that 'epitaphs are inscribed on gravestones', but that:

> when the genre of the epitaph itself is cited, as happens when the literary epitaph *pretends* [author's italics] to refer to a tombstone on which it is inscribed, the genre changes: the 'simple form' of the epitaph [...] becomes a more complex and layered form.[70]

For Frow, the 'situation' of the text, or the 'framing' of it, has little tolerance for change in relation to epitaphs. If the removal from a graveside makes an epitaph become a far more 'complex' form though, Frow offers us a scarcity of detail as to what the complexities of this new genre involve, and more importantly, he offers little in the way of means to identify one of these 'complex' texts when encountered in print or manuscript.

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[68] Frow, *Genre*, p.9.

[69] For a description of the range of uses and circulation of manuscripts, see Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 96-99. For a description of the types of environments in which these texts circulated, see Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, pp.30-48.

[70] Frow, *Genre*, pp.117-118.

Frow is not alone in centring placement as the defining feature of epitaphs - MacLachlan and Reid take this emphasis on placement still further, and regard an epitaph's translation from tombstone to paper as one which does not just 'cite' the epitaph genre or develop it into something more 'complex and layered', but shifts it to a new genre altogether. They go so far as to argue that epitaphs have 'no collective distinguishing marks' beyond their location on a gravestone, and 'the very same words that commemorate the dead person on that spot have another function if transcribed to a page. [...] Their genre is literary: the effects they produce are those of a poem'.[71] MacLachlan and Reid's definition of an epitaph is even more situationally dependent and with even less tolerance for change than Frow's – once an epitaph loses the situational associations of the graveside, it is no longer an epitaph at all and loses its stated purpose as a commemorative text entirely.

In both cases, epitaphs are regarded as a genre with a distinct lack of inherent defining features in the text itself, relying almost exclusively on their graveyard context for inclusion in the genre rather than intrinsic content. While the lack of definitive, unifying features of an epitaph is troubling to the scholar attempting to codify these texts, the extreme view that MacLachlan and Reid espouse wherein an epitaph's translation to print or manuscript results in the loss of all associations with commemoration and grief (in favour of being seen as a 'literary' text) not only underestimates the 'literariness' of some early modern gravestone engravings, but more importantly to this study, it underestimates the range of sentiments a manuscript epitaph may express, and the uses that manuscript texts might be put to. Many manuscript epitaphs' contents explicitly engage with issues of grief, memorialisation, loss, and comfort in the same way as their graveside counterparts since they work directly with the tradition of affixing hand-written epitaphs to a hearse. We have already seen the epitaph for Thomas Sackville quoted above ('My pen did ner expect to deck thy herse') and the epitaph for the vicar John Nicholls that directly references this custom, but it is important to emphasise the extent to which this is a culturally ingrained and well-recognised practice. The commonplace nature of the practice is

[71] Gale MacLachlan and Ian Reid, *Framing and Interpretation* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994), pp. 86-89.

suggested by the libel against Archbishop Whitgift mentioned above, which was famously pinned to his hearse, a move which would have substantially less 'sting' if pinning epitaphs in this way were not a pre-existing practice by which the dead are honoured during their funeral. While less permanent than a stone monument, manuscripts were a legitimate form of graveside remembrance in this period, and the distinction between commemorative and literary texts is less clear than perhaps it might be to a modern reader. It is also worth noting the way in which compilers often carve out recognisable 'paper graveyards' and commemorative spaces (whether it be for grief, fame, or infamy) in their manuscripts which do much to reproduce (and indeed, parody) the sentiments of a graveside epitaph. None of this is to say that manuscript epitaphs are not distinct from graveside counterparts and that there are not difficulties in identifying genre which are unique to manuscript versions of these texts, but it is important to recognise that enough similarities can be drawn between the uses of graveside and manuscript epitaphs in this period that a total separation of the two in terms of generic attribution is less than satisfactory. Manuscript epitaphs are circulated, used, repurposed, and continually adapted amongst an assembly of living readers, and that (paradoxical) vivacity is lost when considering only stone or print.

What this suggests is that attempts at categorising epitaphs tend to fail because of the way in which we approach the texts rather than because of an inherent instability in the poems themselves. Frow's model for generic identification based on extrinsic qualities, in his words, the 'framing' of a text, is perhaps a substantially more useful model for organising poems that can be recognised as belonging together underneath one generic umbrella even in spite of a lack of internal consistency. MacLachlan and Reid's approach to the genre of epitaphs is lacking when it comes to early modern texts because this 'frame' through which the poems are being viewed differs from that which early modern compilers apparently used. If we are to approach genre as something which is extrinsic to the text - something rooted in social conventions rather than specific features of any given poem - then the expected lapidary nature of an epitaph might not be terribly important at all, if the early modern reader's mental model of the genre was rooted less exclusively in placement on a stone than ours. If we are confused

by early modern compilers' apparently idiosyncratic approach to identifying epitaphs, then it perhaps has more to do with the differences in our approach to 'framing' the text than the poem itself.

Placement and Paratext

We cannot hope to fully reconstruct a reader's perception of frame, but there are ways of approaching a manuscript that come with suggestive possibilities for understanding how a text was regarded. Frow offers an email from 'the Federal Secretariat in Lagos, Nigeria' requesting assistance in diverting funds to an overseas account as an example of how we understand generic distinctions through framing. Frow suggests that we can read this email in one of two ways, 'as a business letter addressed to a stranger soliciting his assistance', or as 'the well-known Nigerian scam, the "419 Fraud"', but he ultimately decides that 'Since I have received a number of rather similar emails in the past, I suspect it may be the latter'.[72] Frow is referring here to the paratextual information about the text which offers us the cultural guidance on how to engage with what we read, allowing us to read for 'how the subtleties of texts are generically formed and governed […] for those layers of background knowledges which texts evoke and which are generically shaped and generically specific'.[73] The fraudulent email example is particularly apt – a 419 Fraud, an email purporting to be from HMRC asking us to click on a link, or apparent requests from your IT department to send the unencrypted details of your log-in might share little to no common features or content, but we still feel confidently able to label all these as 'spam'. We look at paratextual information such as the type of email address that the sender uses, contextual information about internet safety and the sharing of passwords, conspicuous misspellings, and our email provider's mechanism for labelling spam to make these judgements. In much the same way as our experience of framing these texts allows us to recognise 'something not quite right' about a spam email – even if it looks nothing like another spam email – we can assume that early modern collectors and readers of epitaphs had a similar set of reading apparatus that allowed them to make

[72] Frow, *Genre*, p.109.
[73] Frow, *Genre*, p.110.

such distinctions, and that the traces of this apparatus are present in the paratextual framing of the texts they chose to assemble, if we know how to read them.

With its emphasis on known authorship and authorial intention, Gérard Genette's *Paratexts* is more readily applied to modern printed material. However, what Genette calls the 'peritextual' material (that is, the physical presentation of the text, including titles, annotations, binding, contents pages, etc. which intentionally guide the reader's experience of the text) associated with many of these manuscripts can be helpful in identifying genre, and can help to better recognise the framing of a text that offers it the necessary context for generic distinction.[74]For example, some compilations of epitaphs create spaces in their manuscripts which are exclusively dedicated to epitaphs, and this 'paper graveyard' is one of the ways in which a text may be identified as an epitaph, particularly in the paratextual information conveyed in miscellanies and commonplace books.[75] Genette himself is dismissive of the potential for manuscripts to have paratexts, describing texts of the Middles Ages as being circulated 'in an almost raw condition, in the form of manuscripts devoid of any formula of presentation', though this dismissal of medieval manuscripts is hard to defend given the elaborate, ornate, and perhaps most importantly in terms of paratexts, reasonably standardised presentational features which a reader could expect.[76] Pages were folded and stitched in a uniform way to form a codex, and before the scribe's work on the document commenced, pages would have margins drawn and lines ruled so as to produce an aesthetically pleasing page.[77] A variety of scripts could differentiate a high-status text from a low-status text, as well as the quality of parchment (or paper), and whether

[74] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[75] Some manuscripts are explicit about this, and will use section titles to definitively mark a section as entirely devoted to epitaphs – for example, CUL MS Add. 9221 uses the heading 'Epitaphia' to mark a whole section of epitaphs, and FSL MS V.a.103 further subdivides this into categories such as 'Laudatory' and 'Merry and Satyricall'. Others are less direct in their demarcation of sections, but will still cluster epitaphs together, separate to other content. British Library Sloane MS 2623 is a strong example of this type of organisation – the manuscript as a whole is a composite of multiple texts, but the epitaphs section is a self-contained booklet which almost exclusively consists of epitaphs. Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 4138 delineates one section from another using blank pages, and in this manner creates a section which is largely epitaph-based.

[76] Genette, *Paratexts*, p.3.

[77] Christopher De Hamel and British Library, *The British Library Guide to Manuscript Illumination: History and Techniques* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp.39-40 and pp. 41-43.

decorated initials and illuminations were present (and if so, the quality of the artworks and the materials used).[78] Furthermore, information such as titles, the author's names, incipits and excipits, and even bindings are designed to guide the reader's experience of the text. A wealth of paratextual information is available for manuscripts of the Middle Ages, even without the structuring effect of the modern publishing industry, and early modern manuscript documents are no different. Even if Genette was reticent to regard manuscript texts as belonging in his study of paratexts, there is ample justification to regard manuscripts of this period as having a rich paratextual apparatus worthy of analysis.

Genette describes *Paratexts* as 'a wholly inceptive exploration' of paratextual information, 'an attempt at a general picture, not a history of the paratext', and this call to arms for further studies of historical examples of paratexts has begun to be answered.[79] Manuscript paratexts have subsequently become an area of study in their own right, as well as being subject to scrutiny in terms of how this paratextual information can be best preserved when digitising historical texts (as well as considering what paratextual information is *added* in the course of such initiatives).[80] Where discussions of the paratextual aspects of medieval manuscript texts are unencumbered by the existence of printed versions of the texts, studies in early modern paratextual information are sometimes centred on printed material as if it is a superlative, or more 'finished' product. In this context, manuscripts are framed as a contextual detail on the means by which a text reached print, as opposed to being treated as worthy of investigation in and of themselves.[81] Nonetheless, I would argue that just as the manuscripts of the middle ages are far from 'raw', early modern manuscript documents can offer much in terms of paratextual information, and are more than just a stepping-stone to potential print

[78] For a discussion of medieval book hands, see M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. xiii-xiv.
[79] Genette, *Paratexts*, pp.13-14.
[80] See Leah Tether, 'A digital manuscript case study: How publishing theory can advance the practice of manuscript digitization', *Book 2.0*, 3.1 (2013), 61–77. Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1386/btwo.3.1.61_1> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[81] See, for example, *Renaissance Paratexts* ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

publication. Many of the commonplace books in which collections of epitaphs are found are intended for circulation amongst a coterie of like-minded friends, and as such, can be regarded to some extent as 'published' by the compiler with accompanying paratextual data that the reader can expect to find and interpret.[82] That paratextual material is crucial in offering an understanding of how readers mentally sifted through the material they read and copied, and determined its generic status.

The way in which a manuscript compiler chooses to 'publish' a collection of epitaphs is one potential means to loosely define and identify epitaphs. Where epitaphs are grouped together in a collection, the compiler calls to mind the analogous 'collection' of epitaphs in a graveyard – simply by amassing such texts together, their collective status as legitimate epitaphs is emphasised. This may include some material which might otherwise merit only dubious status as an epitaph, but having been transcribed alongside other more clear-cut cases (for example, those with recognisable 'here lies' statements), their status as epitaph becomes more secure – just as unconventional epitaphs are still nonetheless regarded as epitaphs when found on a grave monument alongside other grave monuments. In his study on epitaph culture in Western society, Karl S. Guthke notes a number of humorous and unconventional epitaphs which make their way into sanctified burial spaces, including this example from a graveyard in Troutbeck, Cumbria:

> Here lies a woman, No man can deny it,
>
> She died in peace, although she lived unquiet,
>
> Her husband prays, if e'er this way you walk,
>
> You would tread softly – if she wake she'll talk.[83]

[82] While Adam Smyth is keen to point out that commonplace books represent the 'appropriation of public texts' to create a 'private (or semi-public) text' there is certainly an expectation that texts appearing in manuscript will be shared and circulated to some degree (Adam Smyth, 'A List of Sixteen Traits', in *Women and Writing, C.1340-c.1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. by Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 90-110 (p.99)). Indeed, Arthur Marotti notes several early modern poets who hope that their work will be not just read, but *improved* by emendations made through social manuscript transmission (Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, pp. 136-138).

[83] Karl S. Guthke, *Epitaph Culture in the West: Variations on a Theme in Cultural History* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003) p.197.

This irreverent poem strikes a tone so distant from the reverential air expected of an epitaph that one might be forgiven for assuming that it is not 'genuine' (in the sense of having been actually used on a gravestone), but placed on a headstone amongst other graves, it has unquestioned legitimacy. This epitaph is also extremely popular in early modern manuscripts (the Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse records 11 separate manuscript witnesses), and as will be discussed in Chapter 3, does not always appear in exclusively comic company either.

The way in which a manuscript compiler can define and create genre through choices in selecting and ordering material is well-documented for other types of verse. In his discussion of the sixteen key characteristics of a commonplace book, Adam Smyth highlights 'the sense that excerpts are blocks out of which a new text or discourse might be built' as typical of the form.[84] The amalgamation of written material produces a dialogic discourse between texts and between manuscript compilers, where material copied from one commonplace book into another is made to 'speak' in a new textual environment. Joshua Eckhardt's *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* also draws attention to this process with specific focus on the way in which verse compilers give rise to 'anti-courtly love poetry' as a new and distinct genre through their direct juxtaposition of courtly and lewd verses. He explains that by selecting and ordering verses as they do, compilers 'precluded certain interpretations of poems and facilitated others. And they fostered new relationships between verses, associating originally unrelated works and consolidating the genre of anti-courtly love poetry'.[85] Epitaphs are not immune to such treatment, and often the company that a poem keeps is a clear indicator of whether or not it should be regarded as an epitaph.

Cambridge University Library MS Add. 4138 offers one such example where a text that might otherwise have only dubious status as an epitaph is made to appear more conclusively part of the

[84] Adam Smyth, 'A List of Sixteen Traits', in *Women and Writing, C.1340-c.1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. by Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 90-110 (p.99).

[85] Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.6.

epitaph genre as a result of its treatment in manuscript. The compiler collects together a number of epitaphs, both libellous and commendatory, alongside a few sparse examples of other lyric verse. Surrounded by other much more clear-cut examples of epitaphs (all of which contain some kind of 'here lies' statement) is a poem entitled 'of Rob*er*^{t} E*arl* of Essex' (d. 1601). This compiler consistently uses such titles to refer to epitaphs (other examples on this page include Of S*i*^{r} Fra*ncis* Drake' and 'Of Ladie Marie Rogers'). The poem reads:

He *tha*^{t} in Belgia fought for Englands Queene;
he *tha*^{t} soe oft in bloodie field was seene:
he *tha*^{t} did knock at Lisbone's statelye gate,
He *tha*^{t} was fitt'st to giue Mars check-mate:
He *tha*^{t} proud Spaine so oft did put in feare:
He *tha*^{t} in Fra*nce* at Ronne braue Armes did beare:
He *tha*^{t} did Cales surprise and Captaine make
He *tha*^{t} strong seated Flores, and Corues did take
He *tha*^{t} did make tyrone to yeald to peace;
Him cankred Cecill slew, but not disease./ [86]

The poem commemorates Essex's achievements in battle and strategic prowess (however tragically ironic this may be in the context of his abortive campaign in Ireland and subsequent ill-fated rebellion) and laments his death. Despite the title, the purpose of such lamentation however, is not only to mark Essex's passing, but also to lambast Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury. The final line turns attention away from Essex in order to simultaneously condemn Cecil as Essex's murderer and emphasise Cecil's own undignified death by disease. With no direct references to the location of a body (or bodies), this text might only tentatively be recorded as an epitaph, yet based on the peritextual detail provided by

[86] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Additional 4138, fol. 48^{v}.

this compiler (this epitaph is offered equivalent treatment to other epitaph poems) it makes sense to include it as an epitaph even taking into account its non-standard features.

Other peritextual elements may add to the identification of a text as an epitaph in a manuscript, such as breaking conventions of mise-en-page that the compiler has established elsewhere in the manuscript. It is wise to remain cautious in these cases, as not only are conclusive examples where unusual mise-en-page directly indicates the genre of the text really quite uncommon, but they are easily misinterpreted. Nonetheless, a few striking examples are worthy of note when they do appear. The Frevile epitaphs composed by family members discussed above are particularly interesting for the way in which the manuscript is rotated by 90 degrees in order to cram in the epitaph which ultimately graced the Freviles' grave, suggesting a narrative in which several 'types' of epitaph are collected over a period of time, where the compiler did not see fit to give precedence to the 'genuine' epitaph over the family compositions (see figure 2).

Cambridge MS Add. 4138 also offers us an example where the layout of the manuscript is disrupted in order to present epitaphs in a different light. Barring some haphazard entries to the manuscript by a later compiler, Add. 4138 is a remarkably uniform manuscript. The manuscript's contents are divided into thematic groups that are each separated from one another by gaps of around ten blank leaves. In the middle of one of these blank spaces, the original compiler has included two poems, neatly centred on the long, thin page. The first poem, which begins, 'Tywce twelue yeares not full told, a weary breath' is popular both in manuscripts and as an engraved epitaph, and is copied here with one of several headings often found with this text in manuscript, 'of a gent. of *th*^{e} Temple *tha*^{t} dyed about *th*^{e} age of 24'.[87] In this poem, the deceased directly reassures his readers that an early death is a favourable outcome, 'for he *tha*^{t}'s borne today & dyes tomorrow, | Looseth some dayes of mirth, but month's of sorrow'.[88] The second poem, 'A meditation of Death' (usually attributed to Henry King) might more

[87] CUL, MS Add. 4138, fol. 23^{r}.
[88] CUL, MS Add. 4138, fol. 23^{r}.

Figure 2: British Library Egerton MS 2877, fols. 105^{v}-106^{r}.

traditionally be regarded as lyric verse rather than an epitaph specifically, but collected here alongside 'Twyce twelue' it gains more significance as a funerary text. The speaker asks the reader why he 'should'st […] take such Care | to Lengthen thy liues short Kalender' when all his surroundings serve as continual reminders of life's brevity. While a little more ominous in tone, the poem not only mirrors the general message of 'Twyce twelue' but also takes a similarly stern tone to those medieval *memento mori* grave inscriptions that demand that the reader look upon the evidence of mortality (usually the bones of the deceased) and remember their own inevitable death. The similarities in style of poetic voice and general message of these poems have set these two texts apart for this compiler, and the direct juxtaposition of a well-known epitaph alongside the lyric verse draws attention to (and indeed, strengthens) the epitaphic features of King's poem. The peritextual detail in this manuscript draws attention to the difficulties of genre, and indicates the usefulness of a permissive stance on what does and does not constitute an epitaph.

There are certainly limitations to the application of paratextual theory to the more informal early modern manuscripts given their diverse nature, and it is important to be wary of over generalising aspects of manuscript composition in search of unifying theories of genre. However, while peritextual information can be problematic, information such as titles, layout, and ordering of a manuscript can sometimes be one of the clearest indicators of what sorts of texts constituted an epitaph for any given early modern compiler, and have the potential to contribute towards our understanding of how early modern readers and writers defined the genre. As much as caution is advisable when interpreting mise-en-page and related issues, evidence of this kind can be extremely instructive when it is available.

III: Identifying the Early Modern Manuscript Epitaph

To work with manuscript epitaphs is to accept that they are part of a genre perhaps better explained by a fluid set of recurring features than by defined stable criteria, and that crucially, those features will not necessarily be the same as those found in other media. Some of these features occur frequently enough that their presence indicates to the reader that the text is an epitaph, but rarely appear so

consistently as to exclude a poem from being regarded as an epitaph by their absence. Beyond the expectation that they will commemorate a death, there is little about an epitaph's content in manuscript that definitively marks the genre apart. As such, my working 'definition' of the genre relies upon the identification of common indicators of epitaph status, with no individual feature required to be present for inclusion in this study. Permissive though my 'definition' may be, it is still a necessary part of this study to establish a set of parameters for what can reasonably be included and what must be excluded.

Of the characteristics of a typical epitaph that have been discussed above, a gesture towards proximity to the body is one of the most definitive. An indication of closeness to a burial site has been a common feature of epitaphs since Classical antiquity, and thanks to its ubiquitous presence on monuments across England, probably remains the most recognisable feature of an epitaph in the present day. Although it has been demonstrated that the presence of a 'here lies' statement is not essential for a text to be regarded as an epitaph, its presence is deemed conclusive enough to indicate that the text in question is intended to be read as an epitaph.

Of similar importance is an appreciation of the way in which the manuscript compiler treats the epitaph. Where a compiler has labelled a text as an epitaph, I have not contested this, even if the text bears few, if any, other hallmarks of epitaph status. Likewise, if a text has been treated as an epitaph – that is, collected alongside and/or presented as an epitaph, this is also taken into consideration when determining whether or not to include a text in this study. This may result in a text being categorised as an epitaph in one instance, but not another, if sufficient modifications are made in another manuscript as to suggest that it was not regarded an epitaph by that specific compiler (for example, if the poem is titled as an elegy). While this may appear counter-intuitive to some degree, it is a necessary approach to respect the fluid way in which epitaphs were viewed in this period. I cannot entirely reconstruct the frame through which a text was received and perceived – I do not know the context in which a compiler first saw a text which they saw fit to copy, or what their motivations were for doing

so. If I am to accept that this now-invisible framing is what allowed a reader to make concrete judgements about genre, then my role as researcher is to respect these hermeneutical decisions.

Early modern definitions of the epitaph form tend to focus on thematic concerns and intent of the piece over formal features, and this is also something that needs to be respected when determining whether or not a text may be best regarded as an epitaph. As discussed above, such definitions tend to focus on commemorating and honouring the dead, mitigating loss, and comforting the living, and as Newstok and Kay both argue, elegies tend more towards the 'work of mourning' than closure and commemoration.[89] Where a text commemorating a death evidences such concerns (or in the case of libellous, comic or satirical epitaphs, parodies them) this lends the weight of evidence towards a text being an epitaph. Nonetheless, the epitaph is a broad genre with many idiosyncratic and humorous examples that resist this kind of definition, making this one of the more 'tentative' defining criteria.

Equally tentative, but also important, is the expectation that an epitaph will be brief. As has been shown, this is not always the case in a manuscript where restrictions on space and cost are less prohibitive, but nonetheless, manuscript epitaphs still generally tend towards brevity, and occasionally this is the last means of determining whether a text is best considered an epitaph or an elegy.

I have deliberately attempted to place few constraints on what the 'definition' of an epitaph may be, since it defies conclusive identification for both modern and early modern commentators alike. Instead, I have attempted to be guided as far as possible by the collecting practices evidenced in the manuscripts themselves, and have sought to offer the widest range of texts possible to best represent the varied, often idiosyncratic epitaphs which can be found in the manuscripts of this period. I have erred towards including more variety in the epitaphs I have selected rather than less, and have not placed any restrictions on whether or not the poem must be sincere or mournful in tone. I have intentionally chosen to use the word 'epitaph' as a broadly-conceived term to refer to texts that generally share a constellation of features, composed on the occasion of a death. If this takes us some

[89] Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England*, p. 31; Kay, *Melodious Tears*, p. 6.

way from definitions of the genre that rely on marking a location, or if this permissive definition incurs some blending of the borders between epitaph and other related genres, then this is best considered as a direct consequence of how the texts were regarded and used by their creators, as opposed to a failing in identification.

Categorising and Investigating Epitaphs

Having determined which texts are to be considered as epitaphs for the purposes of this study, cataloguing and preparing them for analysis presents further challenges. This thesis is founded on a collection of 500 epitaphs that have been transcribed and studied in detail, with the categories in that data set serving as a prompt for the research questions in each subsequent chapter. It is important to acknowledge that any such tool is subject to the biases of its creator.[90] As we have seen, even determining which poems qualify for consideration is subject to individual judgement, and deciding on the criteria by which to analyse the texts is more loaded still. This last section is concerned with exploring the methodology behind this data and the type of considerations that have gone into its selection and subsequent taxonomy. I have attempted to develop a database of classifications which are consistent with the content and use of the epitaphs themselves, even if some of the categories seem somewhat counter-intuitive at first glance. This approach often discounts, or diminishes the

[90] Archival bias is a heavily theorised subject, but I think that the first chapter of the late Lisa Jardine's *Temptation in the Archives* (London: UCL Press, 2015, pp1-17) serves as an excellent caution to the multiple ways in which archival research is dogged by methodological issues. This 'story of a paper-chase' begins with Jardine's over-estimation of the importance of a letter that she felt was crucial to a larger study about Anglo-Dutch relations, doggedly pursuing a 'missing' record which ultimately proved less than useful when it was eventually found. We are offered a reminder here that the very items which we choose to select and pursue in any given study are what shapes our research outcomes, and Jardine cautions us to be mindful of the '*uncertainty* which underlies, and ultimately gives purpose to, archival research in the humanities – in spite of the reassuring materiality of the hundreds-of-years-old piece of paper we hold in our hands' (p.1).
The chapter also considers the conditions under which the letter went missing in the first place – likely deliberately hidden by that veritable titan of an archivist in the State Papers section of the Public record office, Mary Anne Everett Green, who likely found its contents unpalatable or scandalous. Jardine notes that 'Scholars like myself are bound to acknowledge, sooner or later, that Green is the puppet-mistress who pulls the strings on our excursions into the State Papers' (p.15). Each time we delve into a library or archive, there is always a 'puppet master' influencing the choices available to us and the tools with which our work is established. By the time a tool such as the database I have used to catalogue the epitaphs I have sourced is used, there are already multiple layers of bias introduced into the study. It is better – as Jardine's book does here – to acknowledge these influences than to pretend that they simply do not exist.

importance of categories that are the typical mainstays of literary study such as date and authorship. The categories I have used are based primarily on thematic and stylistic features of the epitaphs and they are rarely mutually exclusive – there are many cases where an individual epitaph is best described as belonging to multiple categories. These texts were often used in an active social context and had flexible meanings and interpretations depending on these contexts – as such, any categorisation often comes down to a matter of 'best judgement' and is ideally kept flexible if the text demands it.

One of the traditional types of categorisation that has proven the most ineffective in this study is that of authorship, as so few manuscript epitaphs record this information. This issue is perhaps one of the primary reasons that epitaphs in manuscript have been largely ignored by literary critics; the study of literature has long held such regard for known authorship that even when epitaphs appear in manuscripts which have otherwise been carefully catalogued by scholars in search of works by canonical poets, the epitaphs found in these documents tend to remain undocumented and unstudied. Most of these texts are entirely anonymous, and it is exceedingly unlikely that authorship will ever be accurately attributed to the vast majority of manuscript epitaphs. Traditionally, it would be considered unfitting to lay claim to the authorship of an epitaph on a gravestone, a practice which appears to have been carried over as epitaphs made the transition into manuscript culture.[91] In fact, more than mere convention, anonymity is a vital function of certain types of epitaph, as Marcy L. North has demonstrated in her study of anonymity more widely in early modern manuscript culture. For those epitaphs that affect the voice of the dead or the tomb which houses them, North notes that the effect is much diminished when an authorial attribution is provided.[92] As well as reverential texts commemorating the loss of respected or beloved members of society, early modern manuscript

[91] See Marcy L. North, 'Anonymity in Early Modern Manuscript Culture: Finding a Purposeful Convention in a Ubiquitous Condition' in *Anonymity in Early Modern England: "What's in a Name?"* ed. by Janet Wright Starner and Barbara Howard Traister (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp.13-42. North discusses anonymity as a standard condition for epitaphs in manuscript and on monuments pp.17-18. In his discussion of funerary monuments in early modern England, Peter Sherlock claims that 'few monuments are 'signed' by their makers', making the stone and brass physical monuments equally anonymous (see Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.11).

[92] North, 'Anonymity in Early Modern Manuscript Culture', pp. 16-18.

compilers also showed a predilection for libellous epitaphs documenting the scandals of the aristocracy. Under these circumstances, North describes anonymity as 'strategically protective', since simply being found to be in possession of libels could be a potentially dangerous matter that could result in a conviction for defamation, although clearly it was deemed a worthwhile risk to have the pleasure of owning copies of these libellous epitaphs. [93] Laying claim to authorship of these texts was a high-risk endeavour with few significant rewards. Anonymity is often not an incidental, but a deliberate condition for manuscript epitaphs, making it neither valuable, nor indeed possible, to categorise and subsequently analyse these poems by author on a large scale.

While authorship is unhelpful as a way to understand these epitaphs as a whole, I have still chosen to record whether some form of authorial attribution has been provided, and whether that differs from likely identifications of authorship in modern scholarship. As it is unusual for a compiler to offer the name of an author, it was deemed valuable information when given, and worth preserving in the database. Where an authoritative edition of an epitaph ascribing authorship cannot be found, I have used both the Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse, and (where relevant) the Early Stuart Libels project to establish the most common attributions in manuscript.[94] [95]

Another of the more traditional means of categorising texts that has proven ineffective is dating. While some manuscripts contain clear dating evidence, many do not. Sometimes dates of events described within the manuscript will give an approximate range of dates within which the manuscript was still actively being added to, while some offer no such clear evidence. Composite manuscripts tend to provide even less consistent information, with some leaves indicating an early Tudor hand, with others

[93] North, 'Anonymity in Early Modern Manuscript Culture', pp. 16-18. See also Steven W. May and Alan Bryson, *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.6-7 for a brief account of the legal status of libelling. Chapter 4 will address the legal challenges and punishments for verse libels in substantially more detail.

[94] "Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse", accessed via <http://firstlines.folger.edu/>, [accessed 25 November 2020].

[95] "Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources." ed. by Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae. (*Early Modern Literary Studies* Text Series i, 2005). Accessed via <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels/> [accessed 25 November 2020].

tending towards much later, more typically Jacobean handwriting. At best, most manuscript catalogues can offer an indicative date range which spans a few decades, making conclusive dating of an individual poem unachievable.

The date of death of the subject of the epitaph seems as though it ought to offer helpful dating evidence, but is effectively only useful for offering a tentative *terminus a quo*. Several issues prevent these dates from being of conclusive help for dating a manuscript – firstly, it is difficult to establish with certainty whether a manuscript has remained in active use (with new additions still being made to it) for a long time, or if it is one of the cases where an epitaph has remained popular for a substantial period and has been freshly copied well after the subject had died. It is clear that some epitaphs have particularly enduring popularity – for example, the poem 'Twyce twelue' discussed above (copied in CUL MS Add. 4128) appears to have been particularly popular in early seventeenth century manuscripts, was set to music and printed in 1607, and then made the leap to the churchyard in St Saviour's Church, Southwark, in 1625.[96] It was also printed in the 1633 edition of Stow's *Survey of London*.[97] Over 100 years later, the poem is still held as relevant, as can be seen in the Protestant Noncorformist George Illidge's account of his daughter Martha's death in 1714, where he records his daughter reciting small sections of the poem while on her deathbed. She tells her father, 'He that is born to day and dyes to morrow | Loses some hours of joy but months of sorrow', reassuring him that she is satisfied with her short time on earth.[98] As well as poems like 'Twyce twelue' which evidence a sentiment with long-lasting popularity, epitaphs for certain famous figures are often copied into manuscripts apparently composed long after their deaths. The content of CUL MS Add. 4138 tends to focus on events taking place around 1615-20, and contains many epitaphs for figures who died around

[96]Thomas Ford, *Musicke of sundrie kindes*, (London, Iohn Windet, 1607), sigs. A2^{v}-B1^{r}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 11166. Accessed via <https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-99856219e> [accessed 25 November 2020]. See also Claire Bryony Williams, 'Manuscript, Monument, Memory: the Circulation of Epitaphs in the 17th Century', *Literature Compass* 11/8 (2014), 573–582 (pp. 576-577). Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12169> [accessed 25 November 2020].

[97] John Stow, *The Survey of London*, (London: Nicholas Bourn, 1633), sigs. Ffff3^{r-v}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 23345.5. Accessed via <https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-ocm24448867e> [accessed 25 November 2020].

[98] London, British Library (BL), Add. MS 42849, fol. 98^{v}.

this time. These are mixed in amongst epitaphs for figures who died much earlier, such as Sir Thomas Gresham (d. 1579), Francis Drake (d. 1596), Francis Walsingham (d. 1590), Philip Sidney (d. 1586), and Sir John Chudleigh (d. 1587), suggesting that epitaphs for figures long-dead remained current perhaps decades after their deaths. It cannot be assumed that an epitaph collection in a manuscript represents anything resembling 'current affairs'. There are other reasons to be cautious about the subject's date of death as concrete dating evidence - where a manuscript copies down real life tomb inscriptions, dating evidence can be confounded by the practice of erecting one's monument in church while still alive. For example, Folger MS V.a.103 records an epitaph for Sir Edward Stanley reportedly written by Shakespeare ('Not monumentall stones preserues our Fame'), but the work was commissioned before Stanley's death in 1632 (which stands to good reason if the attribution to Shakespeare is correct, since he died in 1616!).[99] The database does include the year in which the subject of the epitaph died when such information is known, because it has a value in terms of useful contextual information in terms of individual epitaphs, and may sometimes mark a tentative date range for the period of activity within a manuscript. The poems represented by this study were largely composed sometime between around 1550-1640, with the vast majority of material coming from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century when the vogue for collecting epitaphs was at its peak.

While authorship and dating remain problematic ways to categorise epitaphs, other traditional criteria have still proven useful, and the database document includes most typical finding aids in order to quickly locate and compare texts. Individual epitaphs are numbered in the document, both for ease of sorting the material, and to act as a primary key should this document be developed into a published database in the future. The poems are then listed by title (if there is one in the manuscript) and by first line. I have recorded the line as it appears in the manuscript, as well as in a standardised version with modern spelling so that multiple copies of the same text can easily be compared. For the same reason, in cases where the same text has been repeated but with a different subject or a slight

[99] FSL, MS V.a.103, fol. 8^{r}.

alteration, the same standardised first line is used. Details of the library or archive collection that holds the manuscript, and the title and shelfmark of the document are recorded as well as the page reference for each individual poem. It is hoped that if the opportunity becomes available to publish this database for others to use, images and transcriptions of the relevant poems could be made available as an online resource, in line with other digital initiatives like 'Annotated Books Online' and 'The Archaeology of Reading'.[100] The name and gender of the subject of the epitaph is noted (where relevant) both as it appears in the manuscript, and - given the tendency for libellous texts to offer incomplete details or nicknames - as a standardised version of the subject's name and title. Where the epitaph notes the cause of death this has also been recorded, although it is reasonably rare. The overwhelming majority of the texts collected are in verse, but as some few examples are in prose, texts can also be separated according to whether they are composed in verse or prose. Similarly, this study focuses on epitaphs composed primarily in English, but where macaronic verse is recorded, the languages used are documented.

Further, more discursive criteria allow for qualitative analysis of the material. The database provides a number of categories to distinguish between the types of content found in the epitaphs. There are several categories that collectively record the tone of the epitaph – for example, whether it be mournful, comical, libellous, political, or some combination of those categories. As has been highlighted above, many of these classifications are highly subjective, and the majority of epitaphs included in this study are entered under more than one category in terms of the tone and content of the text. Further details are also provided on the character of the subject of the epitaph – the database records whether they are anonymous or named by the epitaph, and if so, whether they were a particularly well-known or famous figure. A note is also made as to whether the epitaph is predominantly focused on the occupation of the deceased, as in the case of the epitaph for a bellows-

[100] See 'Annotated Books Online', accessed via <http://www.annotatedbooksonline.com> [accessed 25 November 2020] and 'The Archaeology of Reading in early Modern Europe (AOR)', accessed via <http://bookwheel.org> [accessed 25 November 2020].

mender discussed above. Rare cases where the epitaph addresses either an animal or an inanimate object are also recorded here.

Epitaphs in manuscript also exhibit a wide range of types of dialogue, and this information is highly instructive in terms of analysing how the early modern composers of these epitaphs regarded the dead, and their availability to be spoken with. As such, several forms of dialogue have been recorded in this study. By far the most common way in which dialogue in epitaphs tends to function is where an unnamed poetic voice addresses the reader – usually assumed to be a mourner, or a sympathetic passer-by. North describes epitaphs as not only typically anonymous, but also being distinctive for the way in which a distance is maintained between author and voice, allowing for 'a range of perspectives' from which to speak. She describes epitaphs as typically cultivating 'a disembodied voice' which is 'intentionally crafted to seem authorless' – and indeed, this 'authorless' voice is employed in over 75% of the poems studied.[101] Nonetheless, there are also a substantial number of epitaphs that shy away from a conventional anonymous voice, and make use of other forms of speech – the dead sometimes address the reader directly, or the poet uses the epitaph to address the deceased directly. Sometimes the poet specifically makes reference to other mourners, an angelic host, or even occasionally death him/herself. Rarely, the epitaph addresses the grave holding the remains of the deceased, and rarer still, it is the grave doing the talking. Very often, the epitaph will actually use more than one of these forms of dialogue, placing the living and the dead in direct conversation with one another. The database records this flow of conversation in order to better trace the patterns of dialogue and vocal power.

This database has been developed to facilitate the testing of hypotheses about general trends in the tradition of early modern epitaph culture, as well as a tool to identify atypical and anomalous texts that merit closer, individual analysis. All of the categories discussed above can be used to filter search

[101] North, 'Anonymity in Early Modern Manuscript Culture: Finding a Purposeful Convention in a Ubiquitous Condition' (pp. 16-8). 384/500 poems in the database involve a poetic voice addressing the reader directly.

results both independently, or in conjunction with other criteria. For example, the data could be narrowed to provide a selection of epitaphs about famous individuals where the dialogue is exclusively in a 'poet to reader' form. This can be used to draw general conclusions about the dataset, and can also lead to closer analysis of individual texts found within those search results. As such, the scope of the chapters that follow have been established using evidence from the database document. For example, having established that just over 12% of epitaphs have the deceased addressing the reader directly in spite of the post-Reformation context of the majority of the documents in which they are found, it was clear that the structure and type of dialogue in these poems merited more substantial attention. Likewise, for a genre better known for its sense of gravitas, over 25% of the epitaphs collected were found to be comical in tone. Humorous epitaphs are well documented in this period, but with the database, it is possible to perform further analyses on these comical texts, and establish their common features.[102] Likewise, libellous epitaphs are well known to scholars of both literature and politics in this period, but they are less often studied with their manuscript context taken into account, or with the ready ability to compare the thematic concerns of such texts with other more 'traditional' epitaphs.

While the selection of epitaphs themselves and subsequent production of a database tool produces numerous methodological challenges, this system for studying these overlooked texts allows for a broader understanding of the way that epitaphs function when separated from a tombstone, and what they can tell us about the way the living mourned and interacted with their dead.

Conclusion

While it may not be feasible to offer concrete clarity on what *precisely* constitutes an epitaph in an early modern manuscript, the ways that I have chosen to keep my definitions permissive are instructive, and in keeping with the nature of the texts in question. Just as Newstok identifies printed

[102] See Guthke, 'Last Laughs: Levity in the Cemetery' in *Epitaph Culture in the West: Variations on a Theme in Cultural History* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003) pp. 191-250.

epitaphs as a site of innovation, so manuscripts are a forum for creativity, with texts imaginatively repurposed to suit each new compiler's vision for their collection.[103] Freed from constraints of cost, space, propriety, and the need for individuality that are demanded by stone or print, manuscript compilers rework and repeat material, compose lengthy epitaphs and experiment with indecorous expressions of humour, scorn, resentment or disapproval. Presented with such a variety of very often idiosyncratic material, it is necessary not just to find means of generic identification, but also to make more granular distinctions between form, content, and type of epitaph within this corpus in order to attend to more detailed research questions.

The categories outlined here are not exhaustive, but rather are tailored towards an interest in developing a greater understanding of the ways in which epitaphs were used by the compilers who created these collections of funerary verse. More importantly, these categories have been designed to draw out details of how manuscript epitaphs can inform our understanding of how the dead were understood and related to by those that were left behind, and the shifts in meaning that take place when an epitaph is translated from carved stone to the handwritten page. These texts were written during a time of unprecedented religious upheaval, and were consumed by readers who were living through a radical reshaping of the role of the dead in the world of the living. Issues of how to memorialise the dead and how best to address them in a post-purgatory religious landscape come to the fore, as well as more longstanding concerns about handling grief and compensating for loss. The following chapter turns to these issues, exploring the ways in which early modern poets and verse compilers handled the vexed question of how best to speak with, about, and to the dead.

[103] See Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England* and 'Elegies Ending Here'.

Chapter 2: Dialogue with the Dead

Introduction

Unlike Stephen Greenblatt, I did not particularly begin this study 'with the desire to speak with the dead'.[1] This may seem counter-intuitive given the nature of the primary material in question, but in choosing to focus on manuscript epitaphs, I was much more interested in considering the ways the dead were spoken *about*, rather than attempting figuratively to revive the dead and converse with them directly. Accustomed to the familiar, yet somewhat impersonal style of English epitaph which employs a third-person 'here lies...' statement to commemorate the dead, it came as something of a surprise to find the dead so willing to speak to *me*. Approximately 12% (63/500) of the epitaphs included in this research contain at least one section where the dead address the reader directly – a remarkably large proportion given the genre's traditional association with third-person forms of address. As my collection of epitaphs grew, it quickly became apparent that this wasn't simply a case of the dead speaking directly to the reader, but that more complex and substantial acts of dialogue were routinely taking place.[2] About 8% of the epitaphs studied involved multiple types of dialogue within the same epitaph (that is, there is more than one speaker, or more than one subject addressed). Most commonly, the poet addresses the reader of the epitaph directly, but this narrative voice might also speak to the deceased, an imagined assembly of mourners, the grave or soil containing the corpse, or even death him (or her) self. The dead may speak in response to this poetic voice, or may address the reader. I did not expect to find the dead, and those called upon to commemorate them, quite so chatty.

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[1] Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), p.1.

[2] Mikhail Bakhtin's permissive and open sense of 'dialogue' in which speech always anticipates a response is particularly helpful for many of the epitaphs to be discussed in this chapter. As has already been discussed in Chapter 1, epitaphs tend to expect highly engaged readers – perhaps reading texts aloud – and the manuscript environment comes with an expectation of the social sharing of texts, involving a degree of dialogic exchange. More than this, as this chapter will show, even the most closed-off of speakers typically approaches epitaphs with some sense of communal speech in mind (though a response is not always explicitly reported). See M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. by Michael Holquist and trans by. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).

This chapter augments our understanding of epitaph culture by examining the ways in which early modern manuscript compilers handled speech and dialogue in the epitaphs they chose to copy. The forms of speech used in these texts are very revealing in terms of the relationship the living held with the dead, as well as the way in which grief was managed through these relationships. While reference is sometimes made to the comical or libellous turns that an epitaph may take in this period, this chapter is largely concerned with the more 'sincere' seeming epitaphs that address matters of loss and grief. Initially, I examine that most conventional form of poetic discourse in which there is a poet-speaker who addresses the reader directly, but I wish to draw attention to the narrative possibilities of this form specifically when applied to an epitaph. I am particularly interested in how the speaker characterises the dead as either present or absent amongst the living, and what role the speaker assumes when they do so. For example, they may be an impersonal figure, or an equally-bereaved mourner themselves, and these distinctions in the type of speaker produce very different effects. I also consider those instances where that impersonal speaker directs their words to other entities – assembled mourners, the dead themselves, the grave that holds the dead, or at a personified 'Death' figure. The third section of this chapter approaches instances of the dead doing the talking, and how the boundaries between 'living' and 'dead' are managed in these dialogues. Lastly, I turn to the nature of manuscript circulation itself, and the way in which dialogue is produced within and between any given manuscript document. Dialogue is a fundamental part of manuscript publication, and in this context, epitaphs are made to 'speak' in ways that they might otherwise not when placed in more public or formal contexts.

The fundamentally dialogic nature of manuscript epitaphs is crucial to our understanding of epitaphs as mediators of ideas about death, mourning, and the dead in the early modern period. An examination of the wide range of styles of dialogue that are regularly deployed raises key questions about the underlying social assumptions which make these forms of dialogue possible. At the very least, the availability of such a variety of dialogue types indicates that the characterisation of the dead and the social beliefs that underpin these are not uniform and singular; only some epitaphs seem to

expect speech directly from the deceased, whereas others characterise the dead as functionally absent from the process of commemoration, mourning, or mockery (whichever it may be). This chapter is oriented around a discussion of the various types of dialogue available to the early modern epitaph composer to discover some of these underpinning social assumptions about the dead and the cultural and religious implications of these beliefs. Interwoven through this discussion of dialogue is the way in which an investigation of the patterns of speech sheds light on other aspects of epitaphic discourse. These are ultimately texts which largely seek to console, and this study establishes the ways in which speech is offered as consolation. Vernacular beliefs about what happens to body and soul after death are brought into play in these texts, particularly when the dead are called upon to speak, and a careful consideration of these beliefs is instructive in demonstrating the great extent to which epitaphs rationalise deaths and grief through (sometimes quite heterodox) folk religion. While Greenblatt's famous opening line locates the 'desire to speak with the dead' in the exegesis of a work of literature, here, we will instead be regarding it as encoded in the very construction of the text.

I: The Poet Addresses the Reader Directly

The best represented form of speech in this sample of epitaphs involves the poet (or at least, the imagined poetic voice) addressing the reader directly. Just over 75% of the epitaphs surveyed involved this form of address, with a handful involving some sort of response from another party. However, to say that this type of dialogue is common is not to say that it is particularly uniform. The assumed roles of both the speaker and the reader in these texts vary substantially from one poem to the next, offering up a range of interpretive possibilities both within the text, and as an exploration of the role of the epitaph as a genre more widely. Here, I will consider the range of voices that the poetic speaker may assume, from the impersonal and distant, to the more personal forms of address that handle the emotions of grief more explicitly, before finally considering the cases where a speaker addresses a living reader, but still manages to provoke a direct response from the dead themselves. These dialogues (or implied dialogues) are extremely telling when it comes to identifying how complex

emotions are processed, and the ways in which the role, location, and voice of the dead are understood by early modern readers.

Impersonal and Anonymous Poetic Voices

It is of course, considered 'bad form' to sign one's name to an epitaph – these texts are traditionally intended to speak for, or about the dead as a form of veneration, and for the living composers of these texts to claim a portion of this admiration is to undermine that function of the epitaph.[3] However, many of the epitaphs where the poet addresses the reader directly take this a step further, with the speaker in the poem providing no means to identify this poetic voice with a real, embodied person. Opinions on the dead are expressed with no first person pronouns or stated relationship to the dead to indicate a sense of self, with a variety of implications for the reader of the poem. While the function of epitaphs is often discussed in terms of being an aid to grieving or as a means to preserve identities in a community after death, at its most basic, the task of an epitaph is usually to inform the reader of who can be found interred in any given burial plot. Many of these impassive epitaphs recount this information in such a self-effacing fashion that the reader is placed front and centre – provided with speech that is so devoid of identity, the reader quickly becomes the speaker and takes on the role of graveside informer, making this something more than a one-way speech in a way that is reminiscent of the ancient Greek epitaphs discussed in Chapter 1. For example, the compiler of a Cambridge commonplace book copied down the epitaph for Thomas Knowles (Or Knollys, d. 1435), mayor of London from Stowe's *Survey of London*, which reads:

> Here lieth grauen vnder this stone
>
> Thomas Knowles, both flesh and bone

[3] See Marcy L. North, 'Anonymity in Early Modern Manuscript Culture: Finding a Purposeful Convention in a Ubiquitous Condition' in *Anonymity in Early Modern England: "What's in a Name?"* ed. by Janet Wright Starner and Barbara Howard Traister (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp.13-42 (p.14) for a discussion of conventional anonymity. See also James Ley, 'Of Epitaphs' for an early commentary on the role of epitaphs as a commendatory genre (in *A Collection of Curious Discourses Written by Eminent Antiquaries upon several Heads in our English Antiquities*, ed. by Thomas Hearne (London: T. Evans, 1773), pp. 121-122 (p.121); *ESTC* T112502).

grocer & alderman yeares fortie,

Chreif & twice maior truly.

And for he should not lie alone

here lieth with him his good wiff Ioan

they were together sixtie yere

& nineteene Children they had in feere./[4]

Besides listing Thomas and Joan's (d. 1431) accomplishments in life, this epitaph offers no further commentary regarding any particular sense of affection or disdain the speaker might hold for the mayor and his wife – the key purpose of a text like this is to inform the reader of the inhabitants of the grave, their place in the community in which they lived, and to emphasise the continuity of their marriage even into death. By reading such a text out loud in its original church context, the reader inhabits this role of informative 'guide' to the churchyard.

Copying the text into a manuscript eliminates the vital local context, as the placement of 'Here' and 'this stone' have been forcibly removed. Although the original context may be lost in this transposition, a new mode of communication emerges, where 'here' falls between the pages of a manuscript, amongst any other luminaries or deviants the compiler chooses to lay to rest alongside a given individual. CUL MS Add. 9221 contains numerous entries from collections of epitaphs like Stowe's *Survey*, including a number of erstwhile London mayors, grocers, and mercers. Tucked away amongst these epitaphs though, are a number of libellous and comic epitaphs for a combination of aristocratic and common individuals. These include a libellous epitaph for Lady Penelope Rich (d. 1607); a libellous epitaph against John Spencer, Lord Mayor of London (d. 1610); and a comical epitaph on 'Dick Pinner', a pinmaker.[5] While the visitor to a grave may well insert themselves into the role of speaker, the manuscript compiler inhabits the role of speaker much more fully and with a much greater sense of

[4] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Additional 9221, fol. 198^{v}.
[5] CUL, MS Add. 9221, these poems can all be found on fol. 99^{v}.

power in their own manuscript, in the sense that they are acting as curator of a paper graveyard. Thanks to the intervention of the manuscript compiler, the Knowles family do not keep morally spotless, or even exclusively wealthy/aristocratic company in their resting place in this manuscript, and the apparently neutral mode of address in this epitaph (and the others like it) help to facilitate these incongruous connections. Whether it is intended as an implicit critique on the value of reputation or simply a lack of due reverence for the dignitaries recorded here, the compiler is able to exercise control over the impact of the poems collected, and is at least partially enabled in this through the very distant poetic voice.

In other epitaphs, the poet addresses the reader without a clear sense of self, but nonetheless offers a sense of the affection they may hold for the dead, which changes the emotional landscape of the epitaph and begins to offer a greater sense of personal consolation. An epitaph in BL Add. MS 30982 attributed to William Strode reads:

> Behind this brazen plate these ashes lies
>
> w*hi*ch are the embers of eternity,
>
> No embers had more Sparkes of fire *th*^{en} she
>
> had lights of virtue, now asleepe *the*^{y} be.
>
> but yet shall wake againe & like *th*^{e} sun
>
> their rayse shall burne w*i*^{thout} consumption[.] [6]

While technically the speaker offers no more sense of individual identity than in the epitaph for Knowles and his wife (first person pronouns remain notably absent) a much clearer sense of the speaker as an individual emerges in this poem. Comparatively little information is given about the deceased – she is female, virtuous, and dead – but more can be inferred about the speaker, who is at

[6] New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (BRBML), MS Osborn b205, fol. 59^{v}. Two other records of this poem can be found in the Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse all in manuscripts associated with Christ Church in Oxford (where William Strode was resident). Accessed via <https://firstlines.folger.edu/> [accessed 25 November 2020].

least claiming to have known the woman (in order to be able to vouch for her virtuousness) and who apparently speaks from a position of affection for this deceased woman. Epitaphs such as these still draw the reader to an imaginative graveside, yet their function differs from the epitaph for Knowles and his wife. Encoded into this text are expressions of grief, remembrance, and comfort in the notion that this woman's soul 'shall wake againe' into an everlasting life. In his examination of the visual art of death, Nigel Llewellyn describes the way in which funerary arts and monuments of this period seek to preserve the 'social body' of the deceased in order to 'resist the inevitable process of decay which overtakes the corpse'.[7] Llewellyn goes on to explain that in fact 'All the artefacts produced as part of the English death ritual can be more easily understood if we accept that the bodies of those commemorated were imagined in diverse ways', including both the 'natural body' (the physical remains) and the 'social body', that is, 'the individual's place in society'.[8] Epitaphs such as 'Behind this brazen plate' are fundamentally part of this kind of discourse, wherein the 'ashes' of the (natural) body are minimised, while the individual's ongoing legacy as a virtuous person is prioritised, preserving the social body even as the natural body decays. The speaker offers us a poetic voice largely devoid of individuality, inviting the reader to inhabit the role of speaker/community member, but also guides the reader into taking an active part in mitigating the loss of the natural body and celebrating the entry of the social body into everlasting life. It is easy to overlook the communal aspects of readership that are still implicit in these texts within a manuscript, and it is important to emphasise that, however seriously the speaker may take the anonymity of their role, even the most impersonal of speakers in epitaphs still tend to seek participation from readers and find ways to offer some sense of continuity, if not outright explicit consolation.

[7] Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death* (London: Reaktion Books in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1991), p. 46.
[8] Llewellyn, *The Art of Death* pp. 48-9.

Personalising the Speaker, Expressing Grief, and Gaining Comfort

These types of impersonal address praising the deceased are so common as to be widely regarded as the norm for epitaphs of this period – for example, in his survey of the English poetic epitaph, Joshua Scodel remarks that early modern epitaphs are normally characterised by 'a first-person declaration by the deceased himself [...] or third-person impersonal praise', particularly when used in combination with elegies, which will usually record the mourners 'sorrowfully addressing the deceased'.[9] However, while the disembodied, 'impersonal' praise of the deceased is certainly fairly typical, a third-person address can sometimes takes a turn for the decidedly personalised, even when directed at the reader, not the deceased. These poems do not shy away from expressing personal pain at the experience of bereavement, and engage directly in ways to assuage that grief. An epitaph found in BL Egerton MS 2877 makes the sense of grief at the loss of the natural body a central focus of the epitaph. Richard Frevile, the grieving nephew of George Frevile (d. 1619), writes:

> Dead, & Confyn'd to dust, oh wofull I,
>
> who to the world must rynge a peale of misery
>
> There was alas! but, (worthie!) he is done,
>
> Disaster word! there was a worthie one.[10]

Richard's effusive outpouring of grief at the death of his uncle makes use of a variety of rhetorical forms of address, including despairing cries to 'cruell fates', 'nature', and 'art' for failing to preserve Sir George's life, in spite of his many virtues.

Half way through the poem this focus shifts, and Richard rapidly draws his lament to a halt, crying:

> Cease, Cease, sad muse, this musick harsh surcease
>
> I heare a voyce, oh happie voyce of peace;

[9] Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 89.
[10] London, British Library (BL), Egerton MS 2877, fol. 105^{v}.

fates are not cruell, no, they are not rough,

carefull enough they are, yea kynd enough,

for they most freindly finish & haue his race

that better p*ar*te might liue in better place[.][11]

Having expressed his grief and railed against nature itself, Richard turns to the key audience for this poem, and settles upon a call for fellow mourners to simultaneously 'weepe we' at the loss of Frevile on earth, and 'ioy we' since 'he from earth to heaven is done'. Rarely is the process of mourning so carefully delineated in an epitaph. The procedure of mourning and handling the loss is described as a tripartite process wherein, 'Heaven hath his soule, lett it still haue so | earth shall intombe his Corpse our brest *th*[e] woe'. A distinction can be drawn between the description of personal grief (characterised by an outpouring of emotion and a struggle to reconcile the loss of a family member) and public, or shared grief, which is a measured and reasoned response to bereavement, categorising the forms of the losses. Richard also divides the loss of George Frevile into body, soul, and memory in ways which are telling. Two of these losses – the body and soul - are externalised, mitigated by heaven and earth respectively. However, the memory of Frevile, and the grief that it engenders is confined to the 'brest' of the mourners, who now carry the responsibility of bearing the 'woe' of his loss. Christian faith in the resurrection is expressed, but a degree of importance is still offered to the process of simply grieving for the loss of a good man, even given the assurance that he is now in heaven. The tumultuous experience of personal grief is thus rationalised and soothed through shared mourning with others. Finally, the resolution of the epitaph involves these three aspects of loss – heaven, earth, and grieving mourners – being reconciled as the mourners call out 'I'o, in our earthlie straine', and George is seen to 'eccho I'o in a heavenly vaine'.[12]

The Frevile epitaph presents a challenge to certain strands of existing scholarship, since the extent to which personal grief is recognised at all in this period is a contentious issue. Lawrence Stone

[11] BL, Egerton MS 2877, fol. 105[v].
[12] BL, Egerton MS 2877, fol. 105[v].

controversially places the development of intense emotional distress at bereavement as late as the eighteenth century, where decreasing mortality rates, an increasing number of companionate marriages, and a decreasing faith in the 'direct intervention of God in all aspects of human affairs' (particularly in relation to how and when people die) are regarded as responsible for a growth in interpersonal connection and grief at the loss of a family member.[13] Stone records the case of David Ross, who publicly broke down in grief at the death of his wife, finding this a response 'for which one can find no parallel in the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries, when death was accepted as God's will'.[14] While Joshua Scodel highlights the common criticism that Stone 'ignores evidence from earlier periods of intense familial feeling', he still nonetheless regards expressions of intimate grief as a 'new emphasis' which only becomes prevalent in the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[15] Stone seems to regard acceptance of God's will in the death of a loved one and acts of personal grief as mutually exclusive, yet in the Frevile epitaph we see personal outpourings of grief – railing against nature itself – intermingled with the comfort of faith and Christian fellowship. Likewise, Scodel's tacit agreement that the measuring of worth of the dead in relation to the degree of personal grief that they cause as a post-early modern phenomenon is challenged by epitaphs such as this.

Richard Frevile's description of the transitions from personal grief, to shared grief, to reconciliation offers fascinating insight into the idealised mourning process in this period, particularly since its focus on excessive grief places it on fundamentally unstable theological grounds. Post-Reformation attitudes towards grief and mourning tended towards the stoic, emphasising the importance of celebrating the transition to heaven over expressions of personal loss. Thomas Becon's influential *ars moriendi* text, *The Sycke Mans Salue*, has the dying Epaphroditus tell his attentive neighbour that 'I think that at the burials of the faithfull, there shuld rather be ioy & gladnes, then mourning and sadnes,

[13] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), p. 246.
[14] Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*, p. 250.
[15] Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, pp.312-3.

rather pleasant songes of thankesgeuing: then lamentable and doleful diriges'.[16] The loss of widespread belief in purgatory and the resulting disempowerment of the mourner's grief to produce any positive effect on the eternal fate of the deceased problematises the role of grief as a productive affair, leading to what Katharine Greenland describes as a 'general distrust of grief, and the public expression of grief in particular'. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, Greenland describes the proliferation of 'written works of mourning – elegies, published sermons and treatises' as 'new forms of consolation' which 'replaced the communal rituals of mourning of pre-Reformation England'.[17] While Richard Frevile's commemoration of his uncle certainly participates in this blossoming culture of written consolation, the process it describes continues to place considerable importance on the role of personal grief as an integral part of mourning and bereavement.

Although unrestrained outpourings of grief were potentially subject to criticism, Frevile's description of the personal and public processes for grieving for his uncle are not without precedent. While Protestant devotion is often configured in terms of private meditation and faith, as Alec Ryrie convincingly argues, prayer is often conceived of as an inherently communal practice where the very act of uniting in prayer was seen as profoundly virtuous. Those who advocated for public prayer 'often drew attention to the presence of the entire community' wherein the prayers of 'private individuals' are become 'the entire Church speaking as one', the model for which was the fast at Nineveh, where Jonah's preaching saw 'even the cattle and sheep...joined in public mourning'.[18] This public, communal mourning can be seen in other first-person epitaphs, particularly in those for royal figures, where substantial acts of public grief were an expected part of the mourning process. In her survey of early modern emotions in relation to the monarchy, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly describes how this is not just a rhetorical gesture in literature, but 'Not to feel grief and not to be seen to feel grief in a public and

[16] Thomas Becon, *The Sycke Mans Salue* (London: John Day, 1561) pp. 151-2, sigs. Liiii^{r-v}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 1757. Acessed via JISC Historical Texts <https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-99849879e> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[17] Katharine Goodland, 'Inverting the Pietà in Shakespeare's *King Lear*' in *Marian Moments in Early Modern British Drama,* ed. by Regina Buccola and Lisa Hopkins (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 47-74 (p. 55).
[18] Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 326.

physical way was to deny the central relationship between sovereign and subject.'[19] In line with these demonstrative acts of grief, an epitaph for Queen Elizabeth I (d. 1603) opens with the lines 'Weepe greatest Isle, and for thy mistr<e>is death | Swimme in a double sea of brackish water'.[20] The overflowing tears of the nation are so substantial as to regard the entire island as in mourning, weeping a literal sea of tears. In cases of extreme loss, prolific and communal mourning was a recognised social practice. It is the synthesis of heaven, earth, and bodily grief which marks the resolution of the Frevile epitaph, and this only comes at the point where the mourners are able to join in communal prayer to 'call I'o in our earthlie straine'. As well as the private, unrestrained grief expressed by Richard Frevile himself, public acts of prayer and mourning are seen as critical to easing the burden of those called upon to 'intombe' the woe for the loss of Frevile in their breasts. In cases such as this, the narrative is highly personalised, offering not just an opinion of the deceased, but also including insights into the process of grieving, and the epitaph's role in this emotional experience. Speakers such as these take a far more personalised approach to narrating an epitaph than the traditional anonymous, de-personalised speakers above, but grief and memory are still regarded as shared experiences (or indeed, responsibilities). Even the deeply personal experience of Frevile's grief at his uncle's passing is a matter of collective bereavement, and consolation is achieved through this reciprocal understanding of loss. Individualised grief can still be viewed as something dialogic and communal in the context of an epitaph.

Positioning the Dead in the Speech of the Living

Not only is a complex relationship between the speaker and the reader negotiated in epitaphs with an implied poet-to-reader dialogue, but they can also involve the careful management of a dialogue between the living, and the (mostly) silent participant in the epitaph, the dead themselves. These texts work to situate the dead, and clarify what, if any, their role or presence amongst the living might be.

[19] Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'Monarchies' in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. by Susan Broomhall (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 179-181 (p. 180).
[20] Washington, D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library (FSL), MS V.a.103, fol. 2^{r}.

These poems sometimes go so far as to have the dead make some comment or retort on the epitaph, and may blur the boundary between living and dead.

The scale on which the dead are 'present' in their own epitaphs is immensely variable. While the speaker is practically absent from the epitaph for Thomas Knowles discussed above, Knowles himself is described as active in the epitaph in some capacity beyond lying 'grauen vnder this stone', since his wife is described as interred alongside him so that 'he should not lie alone'.[21] This personification of the corpse and its needs for companionship offers at least some indication that the visitor to such a gravestone (or a figurative gravestone in the 'paper graveyard' of a manuscript) ought to regard Knowles as in some sense still present on earth. Other epitaphs are more circumspect in this regard – effusive praise may still be offered, but the dead are entirely absent from the acts of commemoration designed to honour them. An epitaph 'On a fayre child who died soo sone as it was borne' praises the deceased, but provides no sense in which the infant continues any existence in heaven or on earth:

> W*i*th in this marble casket lies
> a dainti<a>e Iewell of greate price
> wich nature to the worlds disdayne
> but shewd and put it vp agayne[.] [22]

The child is compared to a dainty jewel of great value, but no indication of the location of the child's sparkling soul is offered, nor of any sense that this little body might still hold any residual sentience within that marble casket. Some Post-Reformation epitaphs choose to identify the location of the dead with real precision, clearly indicating to the reader the presence and location of the immortal soul, but as celestial rather than earthly entities. An epitaph describing three children from the same family as all having been pruned from the family tree explains that the 'trinity' of children are 'ioyned to that in heauen' and are awaiting celestial reunion with the surviving members of their earthly family. Lucy,

[21] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 98^{v}.
[22] London, British Library (BL), Additional MS 30982, fol. 2^{r}.

Elizabeth, and Anthony aren't present on earth, but the continuation of their souls in heaven is explicitly described.[23]

This line between present and absent is not always so clearly defined as a distinction between earth and heaven, and some epitaphs will express reverence for the dead in ways that do not allow the reader a clear sense of whether the deceased themselves or an anonymous poetic voice is speaking. An epitaph for 'Iohn Knewstus' (d. 1624) blurs this distinction between living and dead, offering no clear sense of who is speaking:

> ffriends maye a while by arte o*u*^{r} viewe commende
> But 'tys not longe, eare all thinges heere shall ende
> The arte of artes is so to lyue & dye
> As wee maye lyue in heauen eternally[.] [24]

This could just as easily be sage advice from one living person to another, or as wisdom offered by virtue of experience from Knewstus himself, an ambiguity that makes the dead feel eerily present on earth. The most extreme manifestation of this presence of the dead in their own epitaphs that are (primarily narrated by a living person) produces texts wherein a poet addresses the reader, and the dead enter the conversation. Examples of this particular blend of dialogue types are unusual, but noteworthy. Not all of these epitaphs are particularly serious in tone. In fact, early modern epitaphs often evidence the bizarre combination of sombre remembrance and a deep-seated love of (terrible) puns. An epitaph for 'M^{r} Stone of New Colledge' (d. 1612) draws together these apparently conflicting impulses with a combined dialogue between the poet and the deceased:

> Heare worthy of a better Chest
> a Pretius stone enclosd w*i*th rest
> Whome nature had soe rarely wrought

[23] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 142^{r}.
[24] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Additional 57, fol. 74^{v}.

That Art did it admire and thought

ffrom this example rules to take

How shee by it the like might make

Pallas her selfe desires to weare

still such a iewell at her eare

But sicknesse did it from her wringe

And plast in Libitinas ringe

who changing natures worke a new

death fearefull Image on it drew

Pitty the paine had not bin saued

To sad a stone to bee ingraued.

At this point, Stone himself speaks up:

himselfe

my bedd my graue my shirt my winding sheet

you need not carue a tombe stone out for mee

A tombe stone I vnto my selfe will bee.[25]

While the general tone of the poem is clearly mournful, its central premise is still a pun on the name of the deceased, configuring the dead body as a jewel coveted by multiple figures from classical antiquity. In the final three lines of the poem, Stone himself explains that no tomb stone is required, since he is already one. A legitimacy is lent to the initial joke, with Stone himself speaking up in agreement, diffusing any sense of disrespect that the first section of the poem might cause. While Stone's voice at the end of the poem is clearly intended to represent the voice of the dead (as the subject of the epitaph), it is important to note that at the time of speaking, Stone is apparently not yet buried. He tells the reader that he 'will bee' a tomb stone unto himself, but clearly is not yet – though

[25] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 20^{v}.

from the creation of the epitaph above, we can assume he is now. The dialogue taking place in this poem is probably best described as a conversation between living, dead, and liminally dead. The status of the dead and their ability to speak with the living is presented here as an intricate dance between ridicule and praise, life and death.

Even when the dead who respond to the living are unambiguously presented as dead, the negotiation of the status of the dead and their ability to participate in dialogue with the living is still often complex. A pre-Reformation epitaph copied in CUL MS Add. 9221 contains a much more direct exchange between living and dead. The impersonal speaker tells us that 'Iohn Barton' (d. 1460), a London mercer, his wife 'Ienet' and their children 'lyeth vnder heere', and are 'turned to earth as ye may see'. John and Janet then assume control of their epitaph in order to ask the reader to 'pray for vs' since 'as you see vs in this degree | so shall yo^{u} be another day'.[26] This sentiment was already well-worn by the time Janet and John Barton died, having been a recurring feature in 'The Three Living and the Three Dead' stories from the 13th century onwards, where three living nobles encounter three dead figures, who remind the living that life is short, that soon the living will be just as decayed, and therefore they should pray for the dead as well as themselves before it is too late.[27] Unlike Mr Stone of New College, Janet and John Barton are unequivocally dead, making reference to their decaying physical remains which have been 'turned to earth' – a perspective more easily sustained in a pre-Reformation context, in which the dead can occupy space in purgatory from which to address the living. However, this is not a form of speech which necessarily 'dies out' with the Reformation, as Karl S. Guthke describes in his history of epitaph culture in the West, such epitaphs are typically better described as 'material documents of popular piety' as opposed to 'precise reflections of doctrine, which in itself was not unambiguous'. As such, Guthke is keen to establish that:

[26] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 99^{r}.
[27] Sarah J. Biggs, 'The Three Living and the Three Dead' *Medieval Manuscripts Blog* (British Library, 2014). Accessed via <http://blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2014/01/the-three-living-and-the-three-dead.html> [accessed 25 November 2020].

> There is not much point [...] in speculating about what exactly the common introductory formula "Here lies" ("hic iacet") implies, in a given case, with respect to the ultimate fate of the body. Nor is there much point in speculating about the precise meaning of "peace" in the concluding phrase "whose soul may rest in peace" (until Doomsday).[28]

Guthke draws attention to the 'As you are now, so once was I; as I am now, so shall you be' formulation popular in medieval epitaphs as one which is 'more illuminating' than the other similarly ambiguous statements, in which 'all the other ubiquitous epitaphic formulae of the Middle Ages converge.'[29] Though Guthke may identify this turn of phrase as 'illuminating', it still retains many of the same issues of definition as other expressions of popular faith. Most noticeably, it is not made clear where the voice of the deceased speaker emanates from. The demand for the passer-by to look upon the decaying body implies a presence near to the graveside, while the need for prayer simultaneously suggests purgatory. It is also not clear by what authority the dead are permitted to speak either – Janet and John Barton speak in concert with the living, but do not interact with the living speaker in any way. The epitaph seems to 'summon' or invite the dead into their plaintive call to prayer, though no indication is given as to whether their ability to speak to the living is sanctioned by God. As Guthke readily admits, when it comes to defining stock phrases in epitaphs, none of these questions have necessarily ever had good answers – it would be something of a fallacy to suggest that medieval and early modern readers had a consistent conception of the means by which the dead speak to the living, any more than the modern reader does. Integrating the voices of the dead with those of the living in epitaphs such as this is perhaps all the more effective for the uncertainty about the nature of the afterlife that they produce.

While combining dialogues in this way produces theological uncertainties – as in the epitaph for George Frevile where he calls out from heaven to his living relatives – this blending of dialogies also

[28] Karl S. Guthke, *Epitaph Culture in the West: Variations on a Theme in Cultural History* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003) p.336.
[29] Guthke, *Epitaph Culture in the West*, p.336.

provides space for comfort and reassurance at a time of grief.[30] While Guthke's view that statements of 'popular piety' tend not to have clear theological designations is true for any epitaph that engages in such commonplaces, we can consider the malleability of these phrases as altogether more potent when the gesture to bodily remains is produced in a manuscript rather than ecclesiastical context. The paper graveyard of a manuscript page offers a flexible space in which folk beliefs – however vague – about the fate of the dead are perpetuated, and consolation is offered by imaginatively continuing the presence of the dead amongst the living by reporting their speech, without needing to precisely define the terms on which they are permitted to converse with us.

II: The Poet Addresses Other Entities

While the poet will most commonly address a fictionalised passer-by at the graveside, sometimes the speaker of the epitaph will look a little wider, and will include a section in which they direct their attention to other entities, with each of these forms of address accounting for just under 20% of the epitaphs studied (when combined). In the following section I will initially consider the cases in which the poet addresses the dead directly, and the way in which this tends to position our speaker as a mourner themselves. We also see the speaker position themselves as amongst the bereaved by explicitly speaking to an imagined group of assembled mourners, and in these poems we begin to see in more detail how comfort is accessible through this use of the epitaph genre. Remembrance is offered as a fundamental aspect of reassurance to the bereaved, but here we see how this is presented as a form of ongoing vitality for the dead, explicitly integrating them into the continuing world of the living. Vitality and remembrance as forms of comfort are also called into mind through addresses to the tombstone itself, but here we also see the emergence of a set of folk beliefs about the dead and their afterlives, negotiated through their grave marker. Lastly, the apotheosis of this expression of folk beliefs about death comes as poets turn their attention to a personified version of Death, a semi-Biblical figure onto which anxieties about death and remembrance are projected. These forms of

[30] Guthke, *Epitaph Culture in the West*, p.7.

dialogue and speech are instructive opportunities to consider the ways in which epitaphs position the dead and their role amongst the living, as well as the strategies used to offer resolution and comfort to those left behind.

Speaking to the Dead Directly

As we have seen above, there are many cases in which the dead will interject to respond to poetic speakers, but there are also a number of poems in which the speaker reaches out to address the dead directly. This may be a sustained speech, or the portion of the epitaph in which the dead are addressed may be quite short – perhaps only a brief acknowledgement or farewell. An epitaph for a 'young Gentlewoman' ('the powers aboue deny') focuses on the woman's incomparable beauty, before closing with the lines, 'Liue thou aboue in endlesse ^blisse^ while wee |Admire all virtue in admiring thee'.[31] As discussed above, identifying precisely what this particular writer expected from such popular sentiments as 'living in bliss' is unknowable, but no response or acknowledgement seems to be expected from this woman. This direct address to the deceased seems more of a generalised hope that this beautiful woman has achieved a restful afterlife, rather than speech which is genuinely expected to reach her.

A similar formula can be seen in the epitaph for three children of the Lees family (discussed above), wherein the speaker describes to the reader the loss the family has suffered in Lucy, Elizabeth, and Anthony's death (while remaining thankful for the three children still living, 'to make the stars iust euen').[32] As with the epitaph for a gentlewoman discussed above, the concluding couplet then turns its attention to address the deceased directly with the lines, 'Meane while sleepe Lucy: day star was thy name | And such wert then: soe rest & rise the same. [33] Perhaps the epitaph was composed following Lucy's death specifically, since she is the only one of the children to be spoken to directly.

[31] New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (BRBML), MS Osborn b356, p. 257.
[32] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 142^{r}.
[33] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 142^{r}.

As above, the couplet does not seem to anticipate any recognition from the dead (after all, Lucy is sleeping), but rather expresses faith in Lucy's right to a heavenly rebirth.

Without the expectation of a response - or even acknowledgement from the dead - the purpose of such statements is less clear, and less inherently dialogic in nature than in the case of Richard Frevile's hopeful call to his uncle, with its imagined affirmative response from the heavens. Perhaps though, it is best not to regard these couplets as intended to be heard by the dead, but rather by the living. The majority of these epitaphs employ a speaker who appears to have intimate knowledge of the deceased or their family (for example, the confident assertion that Lucy lived up to her namesake in life suggests a degree of intimacy), giving the speaker the appearance of a fellow mourner. Likewise, the desire to personally affirm the worthiness of the dead by speaking with them directly suggests at the very least, feigned, if not real familiarity or closeness. These addresses to the dead are potentially most accurately regarded as highly performative speech that is directed at fellow mourners as well as the 'passer-by reader', offering reassurance that the departed has been publicly acknowledged as worthy of a place in heaven. This is a communal performance of grief in which the absent deceased is called upon in order to lend authority to the speaker's assurance that all is well.

Speaking to the Mourners

This imagined assembly of mourners is sometimes more explicitly called to mind in cases where the poet openly directs their speech at fellow mourners or funeral-goers. These kinds of address are uncommon, but are highly suggestive in terms of representing the funeral practices surrounding interment, and what words are expected to give comfort to the attendees of a funeral. With a brief opening directed to the grave itself, an epitaph in BL Add. MS 30982 ('Keep well this sacred pawn thou bed of stone', commonly attributed to William Strode) primarily concerns itself with advice for the mourners of a dead woman. The speaker recommends that the mourners 'that lou'd her and vertue' should 'spend not [their] eyes […] though the mold | contain them both'.[34] The first few lines of the

[34] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 124^{r}.

poem require that the grave take good care of this virtuous body, 'For thou must render it a saint, each bone | shall be requir'd', and 'the very shrowd shall rise | Turn'd to a robe of light'. This exhortation to the grave is reiterated to the assembled mourners, not as an instruction, but this time as soothing words spoken to ease their tears. The speaker tells them, 'after sleepe | She'd rise more fresh', and to be sure that 'where she lyes | The graue is but an vsher to the skyes'.[35] Such admonitions to remember the resurrection of virtuous figures are not an uncommon feature of epitaphs, but other ways in which the mourners are comforted in this epitaph are more unconventional. In particular, the role of memory is configured in an unusual fashion. Typically, preserving the memory of the deceased is regarded as a communal responsibility. The grave will preserve fame to some degree, but many epitaphs recognise that even stone is not permanent, while emphasising that memory will live on through the community's continued recognition of the good works and virtue of the deceased.[36] Instead, this epitaph comforts the mourners by reassuring them that 'memory will keepe | Due watch about her to preserue her name | Vntill her nature wake'.[37] Memory is configured as an independent, active, watchful force, intent on ensuring that this woman's 'name' will be preserved until she is resurrected to re-embody it herself. The mourners are strangely absolved of the obligation to keep the memory of the deceased alive, as a personified Memory has already assumed this role. The memory of the deceased is therefore offered a vitality which is comfortingly independent of earthly support.

This symbolic vitality of the dead is also encoded into the resting place of the deceased. She has not been interred into a 'grave', but rather a 'bed of stone', a metaphor which calls to mind the representation of death as a 'sleep' in anticipation of waking into eternal life. This continues into the

[35] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 124^{r}.
[36] Karl S. Guthke discusses how the tendency of epitaphs to proclaim eternalised memory of the just runs counter to Protestant doctrine. He claims that 'such cult of memory as there was in Christianity was in clear and present danger of conflict with the doctrine asserting that the only immortality worth striving for was that of the soul in heaven, rather than that of the real person in the remembrance of posterity' (*Epitaph Culture in the West*, p. 4.). The emphasis placed on memory in texts such as the one above indicate just how dearly held the idea of memory was, in spite of theological conflict.
[37] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 124^{r}.

last lines of the poem, as the mourners are assured that 'death cannot tame | the life of hope', before the closing lines that remind the reader of the grave's role as 'vsher to the skyes'.[38] It is common in funerary discourse to be reminded of the Christian doctrine that Christ's resurrection represents an ultimate triumph over death, which will be fully manifested on Judgement Day when the righteous will be resurrected in heavenly form. What is more uncommon is the focus on 'hope' triumphant over death, continuing to possess 'life' in spite of the apparent finality of death. Not only the deceased (who is patiently awaiting her restoration to a 'saint'), but also memory, hope, and the grave itself are all given life in this poem, emphasising not only the consolation found in the doctrine of resurrection, but also in the overwhelming vivacity of the living world which surrounds the mourners.

The poem not only takes an unusual approach to speaking about mourning, but the form of speech itself bears discussion. The epitaph offers remarkable metric regularity, forming neat iambic pentameters with the exception of line 5. This line flips jarringly from a trochaic rhythm back to iambs at the point that the speaker recognises the loss felt by the body being interred into the earth ('ye that lou'd her and vertue; though the mold'). The rhyme scheme is also reassuringly regular, with neat sets of rhymed couplets throughout. The real irregularity emerges in the poet's prolific use of enjambment, with each 'unit of sense' in the poem usually stretched awkwardly across two lines. Given the irregular nature of punctuation in this period, there is remarkably consistent punctuation mid-line, rendering each phrase distinct. The effect of these features is to render the poem highly wrought, but very like natural speech. The reader is given the impression that the speaker is addressing mourners directly in an informal manner, while still fulfilling the poetic expectations of an epitaph. The focus here is not so much an act of commemoration (after all, very little detail about the deceased herself is offered), but of rationalising grief.

Other epitaphs refer more directly to the funeral proceedings themselves, calling upon the mourners to take part in the process of public mourning. A particularly remarkable example of this genre can be

[38] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 124^{r}.

found in the same manuscript in a mock epitaph for John Dawson the butler at Christ Church College (d. 1622), written by Richard Corbett. This epitaph appears to have been popular, with over twenty extant manuscript witnesses to the text.[39] Corbett parodies the funeral proceedings by anthropomorphising the contents of the dead butler's pantry to act as part of the service. If any of those present find themselves unable to weep, Corbett demands that they should 'Take off his pott & see [his cheeses] squeese out a teare'.[40] Likewise, the barrels in the cellar are also called upon to 'weepe' and 'lett your drippings fall | In trickling streames' in honour of the deceased butler. These acts of grief are profoundly transformative – the cheese is made 'good' by its weeping, suggesting a fundamentally positive nature of grief which leaves those who engage in it improved for the experience. Just as the tears of the cheeses are used to improve the quality of the cheese, the tears of the weeping barrels are similarly productive. These 'trickling streames' are encouraged to 'make waste more prodigaⁱˡ | Then when our drinke is bad' so that the butler 'may floate | to stix, in beare, & lift vp Charons boate | With wholesome waues'. The murky waters of the Styx are transformed to wholesome beer, carrying John Dawson to the afterlife in comfort. However, these closing lines also draw us back to the mourners, who are presumably raising a toast to Dawson with the very same beer. Addresses to the mourners demonstrate the transformative nature of their lamentations, in which heartfelt feelings of loss are sufficient to hold off death and replenish what has been lost – whether that is the transformation of resurrection, or the restocking of a beloved butler's pantry.

Speaking to the Grave

These kinds of classical allusions are a common way to privilege the dead – pagan gods are often shown to covet, care for and mourn the dead. Additionally, it is reasonably common to replicate sentiments, whole phrases, or structural elements from Greek and Latin epitaphs. Perhaps the most famous of these borrowings is to be found in Ben Jonson's 'On My First Daughter', where the grave is

[39] 23 records of the poem can be found on the Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse, accessed via <https://firstlines.folger.edu/> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[40] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 4ᵛ.

called upon to 'cover [her] lightly, gentle earth'.[41] This tender line has no doubt moved generations of readers, as Scodel discusses in his extensive analysis of the poem, 'the father expresses the continuing protective concern he feels for the whole child [not separated into inanimate body and heavenly soul] that he knew'.[42] Powerful as it is, the sentiment does not originate with Jonson, and is in fact a concern regularly expressed in both ancient Greek and Latin epitaphs. 'Sit tibi terras levis' ('may the earth rest lightly on you') is found so commonly at the end of a Latin epitaph, that it is typically abbreviated to simply 'S.T.T.L.'[43]

This concern for the grave's care over the corpse is sometimes expressed by speaking directly to the grave itself. The epitaph from BL Add. MS 30982 discussed above for its direct address to an assembly of mourners actually begins by demanding of the grave that it 'Keepe well this sacred Pawne thou bed of stone', placing responsibility upon the grave itself to 'render [the body] a saint' come the resurrection.[44] This 'reminding' the grave of its role in the aftermath of a death evokes human authority over the lengthy process of dying and death, rationalising the fundamentally uncontrollable nature of death as something which falls within the compass of human powers to regulate. The body is placed within a 'bed of stone', a funeral service is held, the grave is instructed in the care of the corpse, and death is cheated, in spite of the bodily evidence. It is only once this appeal to the grave is completed and the 'bed of stone' has been reminded of its duties to its occupant, that the speaker addresses the mourners with words of comfort. It remains worth noting, however, that even accounting for the celebratory nature of 'Keepe well this sacred Pawne', epitaphs such as this still bear an undercurrent of the profoundness of grief experienced by the mourners left behind by the sleeping, inaccessible deceased. The impact of the loss is such that expressions of grief require the fundamental transformation of the grave from an unfeeling lump of stone to a diligent and caring custodian of the

[41] Ben Jonson, 'On my First Daughter', in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt et. al., 2 vols (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), I, pp. 1428-9 (p.1429).
[42] Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph,* p.82.
[43] Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, p. 82.
[44] BL, Add MS 30982, fol. 124^{r}.

corpse – as with the comical epitaph for John Dawson the butler, bereavement is a transformative experience.

A popular epitaph for Mistress Mary Prideaux (d. 1624) which begins 'Happy grave thou dost enshrine' operates in much the same vein, but is addressed only to the grave, not to the accompanying mourners. The 'happy grave' contains 'that which makes thee a rich mine', but is reminded that the body is only a 'loane', as the deceased will wake from her 'long sleepe' and require the use of her body again. The speaker chastens the grave rather colloquially, instructing it to 'marke mee', and heed the fact that 'a lame | deformed Carkase' will simply not do for this purpose; the grave is instead to open the woman's eyes ('two starrs there bee, | Ecclipsed now, uncloud but those'), return the rose tint to her 'pale and wann' cheeks, and restore her body to its living state when called upon for the resurrection.[45] As above, the grave is burdened with the responsibility for the transformation of the body. If to be taken seriously, this can only be best described as a belief rooted in folk religion as opposed to scriptural study – the Bible rather emphatically lays the responsibility for resurrection at God's feet, rather than the man-made grave.[46] The impact of folk beliefs on burial practices and commemoration is often substantial even in official contexts. In his comprehensive study, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*, Peter Marshall notes a number of epitaphs that allude to the reunion of loved ones in the afterlife – despite the biblical teaching that marriage does not persist in heaven – concluding that the 'clergy of the Church of England did not always discourage these deeply human hopes and yearnings', despite their direct contradiction of scripture.[47] Nonetheless, such addresses to the grave may be better considered as intended to refer to the practices of burial as a whole, rather than as a specific testament to the stone monument itself. The formulaic nature of burial in this period was not only intended to honour the dead, but to ensure resurrection on the day of Last

[45] London, British Library (BL), Harley MS 6917, fol. 72^{r}.
[46] See for example, Romans 8.11, 'But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.' The Bible (King James Version, London: Eyre and Spottiswood). All subsequent quotations from the Bible are from this edition.
[47] Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.230.

Judgement – bodies were oriented east to west and face up, so as best to greet the angel upon resurrection, for example.[48]

The extent to which it was thought that the body must be kept whole for resurrection to take place is a matter of some debate – archaeologist Sarah Tarlow describes this as a 'context specific' tradition of belief, where 'in a theological tract a man might say that the fate of the body after death is a matter of indifference, the soul being the immortal and valuable part, but at the same time may regard post-mortem dissection of the body as a dreadful fate and a suitable part of the repertoire of judicial punishment'.[49] These post-mortem judicial punishments included a wide range of violations of the corpse, ranging from burial on the unfavourable north side of the churchyard to full dismemberment, depending on the severity of the crimes committed. The effect of this kind of punishment, destroying the 'integrity of the body', allowed for public display of the remains, but could also potentially be regarded as an impediment to resurrection as a result of the 'popular feelings that the body required all its elements in order to be restored', though this belief 'was not articulated in any coherent way'.[50] The comforting nature of epitaphs directed at the grave may well represent a confirmation of the belief that the body was in such a condition that it *could* be resurrected, and offer reassurance that the burial has been conducted correctly, with due reverence. Where explicit doctrine fails to offer clarity as to the fate of the body, folk belief bridges that gap, as these addresses to the grave can testify.

The grave is not always afforded such pre-eminence though. An epitaph for the poet Michael Drayton (d.1631) begins in a similar vein to the other epitaphs, requesting the grave to perform its duties – though in this case, to preserve Drayton's memory, not to ensure his resurrection. The poet demands that the grave 'Protect his Mem'rie, & p*re*serue his Storye; | Remayne a lasting monume*n*^{te} of his

[48] David Cressy, *Birth Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 466.
[49] Sarah Tarlow, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 3.
[50] Tarlow, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*, p. 148.

glorye', but then takes a surprising turn for an epitaph so apparently focused on the importance of the grave as a means to preserve memory.[51] The epitaph ends with the lines:

> And when thy ruynes shall disclame
>
> To bee *th*[e] Treas'rer of his name;
>
> His name that can not fade, shalbee.
>
> An euerlastinge monumente to thee.

The speaker acknowledges that even a 'pious marble' such as this may eventually be corrupted by time, yet affirms that ultimately, it is not possible for Drayton's memory to be lost, as his name 'can not fade'. Interestingly, this is not configured as a testament to the lasting nature of his verse, but rather appears to be an intrinsic quality not associated with any specific aspect of Drayton's character, life, or achievements. In this case, the grave is not presented as an authority that can be appealed to in order to benefit the dead, but instead becomes little more than a temporary marker. Even though this epitaph accepts the material reality of monumental decay, the conciliatory nature of the poem is still consistent with the other addresses to the grave that are more confident of their ability to hold onto their inhabitants until doomsday. Whether or not the grave is expected to last, speech addressed to the grave offers comfort by emphasising the permanence of the deceased, either as a carefully stowed body awaiting resurrection, or as an honoured memory fit to outlast the ravages of time.

Speaking to Death

Folk religion and folk beliefs also play their part in rationalising not just how a body is resurrected, but also how it comes to be a corpse in the first place. In one unusual case, this is represented by speaking directly to a choir of angels on behalf of one 'Mr Steuens':

> Bee not offended at our sad complainte,
>
> yee quire of Angells who haue gained a Sainte

[51] CUL, MS Add. 57, fol. 95[v].

Where all perfection mett in skill and voice

Wee mourne our losse, but wee com*m*end youre choyce[.] [52]

Scripturally speaking, the responsibility for ending a human life lies with God, but the idea of the angels choosing a new saint for their choir was clearly compelling for this poet. While still unusual, epitaphs such as these are more commonly addressed to a personified Death than a celestial entity, lamenting that Death has chosen to take a given member of the community. The figure of Death in the medieval and early modern imagination is hard to trace. Undoubtedly he (for Death usually is male in the English tradition, though not always) often calls to mind the classical gods of death and the underworld (as is the case in John Dawson the butler's epitaph, with his passage in Charon's boat), but the skeletal figure wielding a scythe, a bow, or some other weapon also bears other associations in early modern England.[53] A full reckoning of the origins of this visual and literary trope are well beyond the scope of this study, but it is worth establishing with clarity that the personified Death has at least some basis in scripture, lending authority to this intimidating figure – though as above, in terms of beliefs about resurrection, these are not always clearly articulated in any official sense. The Bible readily personifies death as a figure independent from God – for example, Jeremiah 9.21 describes a death which 'is come up into our windows, and is entered into our palaces, to cut off the children from without, and the young men from the streets'. The following verse (Jeremiah 9.22) evokes the familiar characterisation of Death with a scythe with which to separate soul from body, as the dead shall fall 'as the handful after the harvestman'. Death as a hunter, or occasionally, a fisherman, is another popular personification, corresponding to Revelations 6.2, where death sits atop a white horse armed with a bow. To be able to ask 'O death, where is thy sting?' one must first have a conceptualised version of death which can be spoken to as an independent entity.[54] Epitaphs are usually somewhat scanty on the details of just what this personified Death looks like. In their usual churchyard context, an

[52] FSL, MS V.a.103, fol. 4^{v}.
[53] See Karl S. Guthke, *The Gender of Death: A Cultural History in Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) for a discussion of the gender of death in various Western traditions. In particular, pp. 7-14 discuss the preponderance of male Death figures in English and German culture.
[54] 1 Corinthians 15.55.

abundance of grimacing skeletons (sometimes bearing hourglasses, or other suitable props) would make this quite clear enough, but visual imagery is not a clear concern for the epitaph itself. Instead, these personifications of death tend to make light of the experience of death, or address the irrationality or unfairness of death in a way which would be heretical if directed at God. Such exhortations typically find their resolution in a triumphant refutation of Death's power over man, either through Christian resurrection or other means.

This attitude to death can be seen across a range of types of epitaph extending from serious to silly. Comic epitaphs that contrast the occupation of their individual with their mode of death are frequently copied into manuscript miscellanies and commonplace books, with a variety of names given to these unfortunate tradesmen. In these texts, the experience of death is trivialised to an otherwise everyday occurrence in daily working life, while also usually highlighting the unreasonable nature of death itself. For example, the popular epitaph 'on a cobbler' remains extant in at least 21 separate manuscripts.[55] It reads:

> Death and this cobbler were long at a stand
>
> Beacause hee was still at *th*[e] mending hand,
>
> At length came death in very foule weather
>
> And ript his soule from *th*[e] vpper leather.[56]

The irony of the contrast between this man's means of living and the means of his death are brought together in a comical, yet sad commentary on the fact that no degree of expertise or diligence is sufficient to escape death. The man who dedicated his professional life to fixing 'soles' into place can do nothing to prevent his own from being torn from his body.

[55] 25 individual versions of this poem are recorded in the Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse. Accessed via <http://firstlines.folger.edu/>, [accessed 25 November 2020]). However, as above, this list is not exclusive and it is reasonable to assume that further versions exist.
[56] BRBML, MS Osborn b356, p. 243.

Other examples take this uneasy relationship with death a little further, as is the case in the frequently-copied epitaph for a pinmaker.[57] In this text, death is not an event, but a person or creature which can be spoken to directly to challenge the rank unfairness of a death which makes a mockery of life. The speaker laments:

> vngentle ffates & most iniurious death
>
> who hath bereau'd dick Pinner of his breath
>
> for liuing hee by scraping of a pin
>
> made better dust then thow hast made of him.[58]

Alternative versions of the poem offer the first line 'Here lyes the shame of fates ô cruell death' – death and the fates are 'vngentle', 'iniurious' and 'cruell', deliberately malicious entities, not a passive act of nature. However cruel the irony of the cobbler's death, the pinmaker's death is rendered even more senseless in this epitaph. Death chooses to mimic the pinmaker's profession by grinding him to dust, yet does so less effectively than the pinmaker himself has done through the 'scraping of a pin'. Death's cruelty is not the taking of the pinmaker, but the mockery of his livelihood in the process - had Death simply wanted to make dust, he should perhaps have spoken to the pinmaker first. The final sting to the pinmaker's death is of course that he was not in the business of making dust, but pins. By eliminating the humble pinmaker to dust, Death has chosen only to needlessly manufacture the waste product, with no useful, crafted item emerging from this process. The addition of a personified Death in this epitaph turns the process of dying from something tragically ironic, to personally offensive.

[57] This poem has a substantial number of variants in its first line, which makes it challenging to conclusively identify precisely how many copies are still extant. It is clear, however, that this poem was popular. There are 10 versions of this poem in the Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse which include 'Dick Pinner' in the first line, and two further entries which do not. Accessed via <http://firstlines.folger.edu/>, [accessed 25 November 2020]. However, as above, this list is not exclusive and it is reasonable to assume that further versions exist.

[58] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 99^{v}.

This characterisation of death as both vindictive and foolish extends to more serious epitaphs too. At 78 lines long, 'An Epitaph on M*iste*^{r} Fishborne' (d. 1625) challenges the conventional assumption that epitaphs will be brief.[59] This lengthy epitaph begins by addressing a personified Death to ask:

> What are thy gaines o death if on man ly
>
> stretch'd in a bed of clay whose charity
>
> Doth hereby get occasion to redeeme
>
> Thousands out of the graue: though cold hee seeme
>
> Hee keepes those warme that else would sue to thee
>
> E'un thee to ease them of theyr penury[.] [60]

Death is just as callous as in the epitaph for a pinmaker, but here, his choice of victims is represented as so wilfully arbitrary as to cause himself more work, as the beneficiaries of Richard Fishbourne's alms are shown to be so deeply impoverished that they would appeal to death to release them from their hardships. The sense of death as a heavenly reward for a good man is entirely absent here, with the personified Death forcibly supplanting God as the agent of man's end.

The language used here is reminiscent of the description of the body in 'Keepe well this sacred Pawne thou bed of stone', where expressions of life are used in direct juxtaposition with descriptions of a dead body in order to challenge the understanding of what it is to be dead. Here, the 'cold' body is contrasted with the warmth provided to the poor, a legacy so fundamentally vivacious that the speaker struggles to bring themselves to 'thinke him dead'. While this imagining of Death has thus far rendered him as irrational, petty, and utterly willing to do himself a disservice in striking down a generous man, it is the 'warmth' of Fishbourne's legacy that ultimately undermines death's power over mankind. The speaker cannot imagine Fishbourne dead when his 'parts are...distributed' in such

[59] The Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse records this poem in BL Add. MS 30982, and Oxford, Bodleian Library Corpus Christi 325 and 328. Accessed via <https://firstlines.folger.edu/> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[60] BL, Add. MS 30982, fols. 123^{r}-124^{r}.

a way that eyes are lent 'vnto the blind', 'bones to the shatterd corps' (among numerous other miraculous acts). The legacies left in Fishbourne's will have not only offered life to others, but have also ensured his own 'life' preserved in his good deeds. Unlike 'Keepe well this sacred Pawne thou bed of stone' this epitaph does not turn to the ultimate resurrection of the body to refute death, but instead focuses on the continuing earthly effects of a life well lived in order to spite a spiteful Death.

An epitaph for Sir Thomas Savile composed by William Strode not only takes the fairly unusual step of addressing a personified Death, but also, uncommonly for epitaphs of this period, focuses intently on the cause of death – smallpox - using the personified Death as a means to rationalise the moral logic of a disease which was known to ravage the skin.[61] Strode says to Death:

> Take greedy death a body here intombd
> that by a thousand stroakes was made one wound
> where all thy shafts bestucke with fatall aime
> Vntill a quiuer this thy marke be name[.] [62]

'Greedy' can be added to the characterisations of a personified death, though the greed here is not for the quantity of lost lives, but in the zeal with which Death has pursued Savile's end. Death is often represented as a hunter in medieval and early modern imagery, usually armed with arrows with which to kill his targets.[63] A single well-placed dart could normally be assumed to be fatal, yet here, the many

[61] It is not clear which Thomas Savile this poem refers to – several items on the Folger Union First Line Index suggest a Thomas Savile who was knighted in 1617 (see Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse, accessed via <https://firstlines.folger.edu/search.php?val1=take+greedy+death> [accessed 25 November 2020]). This is likely Thomas Savile, first earl of Sussex, who was knighted in 1617, but he seems an unlikely subject for this verse given that he died between 1657-9 – at least 12 years after William Strode's death in 1645 (see Andrew J. Hopper, 'Savile, Thomas, first earl of Sussex (bap. 1590, d. 1657x9), politician' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008). Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24745> [accessed 25 November 2020]). As the cause of death is so central to this poem, it is not likely to be one of the epitaphs commissioned and composed before the death of the subject.

[62] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 73^{r}.

[63] See Margaret Healy, *Fictions of Disease in Early Modern England: Bodies, Plagues and Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 56-7, which describes the prevalence of Death-as-hunter in sermons as well as pamphlet literature of this period. See also Guthke, *Epitaph Culture in the West*, pp. 85-86 in which some of the most common roles Death is expected to adopt are discussed, including reaper, 'hunter with his bow and arrow' and fowler. Guthke traces the imagery of Death as hunter as late as the 1740s.

marks on the body caused by smallpox are represented as the 'thousand stroakes' that death has used to strike Savile down. This imagined hail of arrows is so excessive as to make the body no longer appear to be a human corpse, but the 'quiuer' for Death's arrows. Strode goes on to emphasise the extent of Savile's fatal wounds, comparing them to the 'fifty wounds' of Caesar, concluding that Savile 'had more' wounds than even the notoriously mutilated dictator. As is the case in the Fishbourne epitaph, Death's initial triumph over the physical body is roundly undermined by the speaker. Although every one of Death's wounds 'did reach | The very hart', he is still fundamentally unable to truly kill Savile – not a single one 'could make a breach | into his soule'. Apparently now turning to the reader rather than Death, Strode claims that since the soul is spotless, 'every scarr. | When death it selfe is dead shall be a starr'. Death's greedy insistence on marking Savile's body with with an excess of wounds may well have temporarily killed him, but Strode anticipates a point when Death itself will die, and his spite will be confounded as Savile will only become more glorious at the point of resurrection for his many wounds. The message here is of course very similar to the Fishbourne epitaph, 'Keepe well this sacred Pawne thou bed of stone', and indeed, most other epitaphs that emphasise the triumph over death at the point of resurrection.

Where the Savile and Fishbourne epitaphs distinguish themselves from other related epitaphs is in the effect of placing this narrative in a direct confrontation with Death. By giving agency to a personified Death for the cessation of life, these epitaphs can challenge the 'fairness' of dying in a way which would be unthinkable when responsibility for such decisions is placed exclusively in the hands of God. While it is of course problematic to read the underlying emotions of a text too closely, it doesn't seem too extensive a stretch here to suggest that in texts such as these, we see some of the most starkly expressed attitudes to loss. These poems centre themselves around feelings of injustice and bewilderment at the unfeeling senselessness of death, with no apology for the grief the speaker feels. But if epitaphs are expressions of grief, their parallel purpose is to offer comfort. The Savile epitaph hands over responsibility for ending a life to Death, but at the same time reassures the reader of God's providence in the promise of resurrection and triumph over death and disease. The profound

sense of grief can be explored outside of a faith-based context, and then assuaged through Christian doctrine. This examination of grief and subsequent resolution is made all the more powerful through the direct address to Death – Death can be humanised, spoken to and rationalised in this personification, making it possible to humiliate and defeat him on a much more personal and accessible level. If Death can be spoken with, then he can also be challenged, and he can lose.

With this in mind, for all that Death is nominally the one being spoken to, Death scarcely registers as the ultimate audience for the poet's words. For this rhetorical take-down to be of comfort to others, the address to Death must be highly performative in nature, with the reader as the intended listener of the exchange. This is made reasonably clear in both the Savile and the Fishbourne epitaphs, since the address to Death himself is fairly fleeting, and by the end of the poems the focus has returned to either the reader, the deceased, or both, but it is made more complex still in the Savile epitaph for Strode's use of the sonnet form. While the sonnet had experienced its heyday some years before, it remained recognisable as a form most closely associated with love lyrics, making this an unusual choice of verse style for an epitaph, which tends to be dedicated to the deceased. Despite this, the epitaph does not address Savile directly at all, only Death and the imagined reader. If the sonnet form can still be regarded as indicative of a loving (though here, platonic) address intended for the attention of the deceased, the poem takes on a further performative role in carrying out acts of grief, resistance to the ways of 'greedy death' and reliance on faith in the resurrection for the benefit of Savile himself. Though such texts may be nominally levelled at Death himself, their attention often lies elsewhere too.

Death is also easily removed from this dialogue with little change to the effect of the epitaph. This is perhaps best evidenced in the way that Death is treated in other epitaphs that do not speak with him directly. Another Strode epitaph, 'On the death of a Twin' describes how 'death killing one [twin] expected both should dy | Shee hitt, & was deceiued [...] death where shee was cruell, seemd most

kind | She aimed at two, & killd but halfe a child'.[64] An epitaph on the 'yong Baronet Portman, dying of an impostume in the head' (d. 1624) laments that death is 'so cunning now, that all her blow | Aimes at the head', claiming that 'Tis cowardize to make a wound so sure'.[65] Another epitaph for a Christ Church College butler (this time, Owen) has Death come to the 'buttery hach' demanding a drink. When Owen serves death his 'licquor', Death takes Owen with him, although the speaker reassures the reader that 'Though *th*[e] butlers gone *th*[e] kees are left behind' – heaven forfend that the keys to the buttery (and therefore, the Butler's legacy) should have become inaccessible with Owen's death![66] While Death is often portrayed as a hunter, he also appears as a 'fisher-man' in one poem, where 'the woorlde wee see' is his fish pond, and 'wee men his fishe<r>s bee'. Typically this epitaph is four lines long, but this extended version of the poem takes an additional six lines to explain that death's weapon is disease, represented as his 'murthering hookes' and his net used to '[sweep] vp [...] cyttys full of men'. Still, even Death must leave some behind to 'make the other graves'.[67] Even though death is not spoken to directly (the imagined reader is the target of all of these dialogues), the approach to representing the personified Death does not differ much from those cases where Death is addressed directly. Death is maligned as foolish, cruel, or spiteful, in exactly the same manner as in the examples where he is spoken to directly as part of the epitaph. By the climax of the poem though, he is always represented as ultimately ineffective, and some ongoing legacy is always preserved in a manner which cheats Death of his full victory, whether it be the butler's well-stocked pantry or a surviving twin.

A wide variety of entities can be called upon to enter the discourse of epitaphs including the grave, a choir of angels, a personified Death, and the dead themselves, often bridging the gap between church doctrine and folk beliefs about death and dying. In cases where official church doctrine fails to reassure

[64] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 73[r].
[65] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 127[r]. It is worth noting that while the characterisation of the personified Death as a hunter is extremely common, death is presented as female in this epitaph. Death is also female in the epitaph for James Van Otten in this manuscript, also attributed to William Strode. It is unusual for Death to be female in English texts or funerary art, but not so as to be unheard of.
[66] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 11[v].
[67] CUL, MS Add. 57, fol. 2[r].

anxieties about the fate of body and soul after death, or where painful feelings need to be harmlessly directed away from God, vernacular beliefs tend to be expressed in these epitaphs as reassurance that all is (or at least will be) well. These diverse modes of address are all rendered accessible in service of honouring the dead and comforting the living, mitigating the loss engendered in death by emphasising the aspects of the deceased and their communities that can still remain constant. The preservation of memory, the continuation of legacies, and the reminder of the promise of resurrection all serve to highlight continuities over disjunctions, across a broad range of dialogic subjects.

III: The Dead Speak

The examples discussed above may represent a reasonably broad selection of ways for dialogue to function in an epitaph, but they all fundamentally operate on a similar basis where the poet acts as the main speaker. In total, 63 out of 500 of the epitaphs surveyed contained dialogue where the deceased are speaking (12.6%), with 58 of those being comprised exclusively of speech from the deceased (11.6%). While still a minority compared to cases where an epitaph consists only of the poet speaking directly to the reader (66.4%), this is still a significant enough proportion to assume that early modern readers of epitaphs expected that the dead may be permitted to speak their own memorials. This apparently contradictory impulse has a cultural basis outside of manuscript culture as well – Nigel Llewellyn estimates that at least a third of funerary monuments in churches were constructed while the owners were still alive, meaning that these parishioners would have attended church alongside their own effigies.[68] In fact, attending church at all required a level of comfort with the presence of death which seems utterly alien in the present day, since the practice of burying wealthy parishioners in the church ensured that the building itself would take on the smell of rotting flesh.[69] The result of these (and of course, many other) cultural beliefs and behaviours is the blurring of any definitive line between 'life' and 'death'. This lack of distinction is clearly supported in a poetic tradition where the

[68] Nigel Llewellyn, 'Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 6 (1996), 179-200, (p. 191). Accessed via <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3679235> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[69] Cressy, *Birth Marriage and Death*, p. 463.

dead continue to speak post-mortem, but while a certain degree of ambiguity is always present, texts such as these are also instructive in examining how distinctions are drawn between the living and the dead in this period and what value the dead had as continuing members of a community.

The dead have a surprisingly large range of things to say to the living - some express surprise at a sudden death, others welcome the rapid trajectory to heaven. Some boldly express satisfaction at a life well lived, while others moralise on how best to live and die based on apparently bitter experience. Some are simply comical – as we have already seen above the surname 'Stone' is apparently far too good an opportunity for a pun to be passed up on. This range of discursive possibilities can help to identify the ways in which the distinctions between living and dead members of a community are demarcated, and how those distinctions may adjust over time, and with significant changes to official religious doctrine.

Demands to Look Upon Physical Remains

'As I am now, so shall you be' is a particularly old and well-represented way for the dead to address the living, reminding the reader of their limited time on this earth. An example of this has already been discussed in the case of the epitaph for Janet and John Barton, who take over from the poet-speaker to remind the reader of their mortality. This popular sentiment originates from well before the English Reformation and variations on this theme (sometimes including a reminder that just as the living will become the dead, so indeed the dead were once living) are oft-repeated both in churchyards and in manuscripts that collect such material. It therefore offers a valuable starting point from which to consider the ways in which the speech of the dead indicate changes in perceptions of the dead over time.

'As I am now' is in many ways quite a straightforward sentiment wherein the dead person unequivocally speaks from beyond the grave, but not in a way which reveals any details of the experience of the afterlife. It is left for the reader to pick up on the implication that they must use this opportunity to reflect on their sins and prepare for a good, Christian death. However, once copied into

a manuscript, this aphorism loses some of its commanding power over the reader, rendered unable to call to mind the reader's mortality through close physical proximity to the decaying remains of a dead person. The interpretation of the sentiment expressed here immediately becomes a more complex affair. 'As I am now' type epitaphs removed from a churchyard require direct engagement with the imaginative concept of a dead body on the part of the reader, rather than a confrontation with the physical evidence of mortality. What it means to be 'as I am now' is much more self-evident in a church context (particularly with the aforementioned stench of decay following a burial), especially if the accompanying funerary art made this visually explicit. One of the most gruesome manifestations of this trend is the tradition of 'transi tombs' that include an often life-size carving of the body when living, and an accompanying sculpture of the shroud-wrapped decaying corpse (often complete with maggots or worms), making it very explicit what it entails to be 'as I am now'.[70]

The transition into manuscript requires the reader to independently determine what that statement might mean, a process that is by no means consistent. Early examples of the form tend to include the request to pray for the deceased (as is the case with Janet and John Barton), since by prayer, the deceased may expect to escape the torment of purgatory. The deceased would still appear to be able to speak from within the confines of the body, (or at least in close proximity to it) rather than from a celestial perspective, at least for the purpose of instructing the reader to look upon their physical remains, marking purgatory as a liminal space in which a connection to the body may well be imaginatively preserved. While examples like this may well be copied into later texts, they do not necessarily indicate agreement with such sentiments – by the time the epitaph for Janet and John Barton was transcribed into CUL MS Add. 9221 (a manuscript which bears no obvious indications of recusancy), the doctrine of purgatory had been officially discarded decades before. In churchyards, such inscriptions were precarious – Elizabeth I had to issue a proclamation to prevent the iconoclastic destruction of monuments deemed to be too Papist, yet these sentiments remain permissible in

[70] See Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 1-3.

manuscript perhaps because the reader is freer to interpret the words of the dead more broadly.[71] The invitation to imagine the dead becomes a rhetorical, not literal move, transforming the sense of what remains of the dead after life is done. Instead of the pre-Reformation demand to look amongst the bones for what is left of the dead, instead we are asked to look 'here' for their words, nestled in the pages of a manuscript.

The Happy Dead

While funerary discourse tends to change at a glacial pace, popular epitaphs do evidence the changes in the imaginative treatment of the talking dead that one might expect to come out of such a transformative series of events as the Reformation, and not only by re-situating older poems of remembrance into contemporary manuscripts. Post-Reformation English epitaphs that do not discuss purgatory or request prayers for the dead not only locate the dead differently, but give the dead distinctly different things to say. Instead of reminding the reader of their mortality, the post-Reformation dead often speak in order to let the living know that they have left this world gladly in order to move on to an eagerly-anticipated afterlife. An epitaph for Master Charles Wray, a young man who died at '16 or 17 years of age' reassures the reader that his death was an eagerly anticipated eventuality:

> When I in Court had spent my tender prime,
>
> And done my best to please an earthly Prince,
>
> Euen sick to see how I had lost my time,
>
> Death pittying mine estate, remoud me thence,
>
> And sent me (mounted vpon Angels wings)
>
> To serue my Sauiour & *th*[e] King of Kings.[72]

[71] See Elizabeth I, *A proclamation against breakinge or defacing of monumentes of antiquitie, beyng set up in churches or other publique places for memory and not for supersticion* (London: Richard Iugge and Iohn Cawood, 1560); *STC* (2nd ed.) 7913. Accessed via JISC Historical Texts <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm33151096e> [accessed 25 November 2020].

[72] Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Archives (SBT), MS DR1208, p. 127.

The young man tells us from beyond the grave that he was unsatisfied with the earthly pursuits of his life, and having done his best to serve terrestrial goals, considers himself lucky to be serving a higher power in heaven instead. An epitaph found in the Wodehouse family manuscripts in Norwich Archive Centre records a similar sentiment. The manuscript documents that Sir Thomas Wodehouse (d. 1658) dictated 'His own 3 verses' to his son, 'to be putt on his tombestone not an houre before his death'. His verses read:

> "Gods mercyes, & Christ's meritts make me trust
>
> "To be rayz'd vp, from this my sinfull dust
>
> "for aye, to prayse Iehouah w*i*th *th*^{e} iust.[73]

Wodehouse speaks from a close proximity to death, but here is already speaking about his body as mere 'dust', and is already looking to the happiness promised from an afterlife spent praising God alongside other worthy souls.

In addresses such as these, the dead are configured in such a way as to offer comfort to the living at the experience of a premature death. Early passing is rationalised as a faster, more secure route to heavenly rewards, a happy or wished-for death. In these cases the dead person offers no advice to the living for how to achieve a similarly joyful death beyond living in eager anticipation of it, and the dead speak from beyond the grave to ease the suffering of their living counterparts, and remind them of the joys of heaven yet to come. Unlike 'as I am now', the deceased is not restricted to speaking from the body, but confidently assures the reader that they are either fully expecting to be raised to heaven, or are already there. In Chapter 1, I noted how Camden's *Remaines* includes a sense of emotional consolation for the dead as part of the role of an epitaph, where it is important that love is 'shewed to the deceased'.[74] This need for comfort and love from the living is decidedly absent in these

[73] Norwich, Norwich Archive Centre (NAC), Kim 9.2, fol. 6^{r}.
[74] William Camden, *Remaines of a greater worke, concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their languages, names, surnames, empreses, wise speeches, poësies, and epitaphes* (London: George Eld for Simon Waterson, 1605), p. 28, sig. d2^{v}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 4521. Accessed via <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99843109e> [accessed 25 November 2020]. See Chapter 1 for a fuller discussion of Camden's work.

Protestant epitaphs, where the 'happy dead' are shown as demonstrably beyond these earthly concerns. As Peter Sherlock discusses in his exploration of memory in church monuments, this shift in which the dead move from a position of dependence on the living for prayer (while they languish in purgatory) to one of faithful independence (where the living may even be commanded to 'ignore' the soul of the dead), 'reflects a debate at the heart of the Reformation' in which there is a change 'from hope and prayer to belief alone'.[75] While love and respect may be freely given to the dead, it is perhaps not quite as essential as Camden suggests when the dead are presented as happy with their lot.

While the dead are often given important roles to play in informing their readers how best to handle death both pre- and post-Reformation, they are also sometimes given a much less serious approach to speaking to the living. The semi-serious epitaph 'on an Infant' operates in a similar way to *'*twice twelve years' in so far as the deceased traverses the boundary of death to speak to the living, and explain that they have willingly departed this life rather than live longer and risk accumulating a heavier burden of sins. It reads:

> As carefull mothers to their beds do lay
> their babes which would to long *th*^{e} wantons ^play^
> so to p*re*vent my youths ensuing crimes
> Nature my nurse layd me to bed betimes.[76]

While some of the reassuring sentiment of 'twice twelve' persists in this poem, it also has a lighter, more informal tone, particularly in the gently absurd manner in which the child compares their mother's ministrations to that of Death. Structurally, this epitaph has more in common with the joking 'occupational epitaphs' written for tradesmen such as the epitaph for a pinmaker and a cobbler discussed above. In those examples, a lightly comic tone is used to represent the manner of death as explicitly connected to the subject's occupation, usually trivialising the experience of death to an

[75]Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 97-8.
[76] BRBML, MS Osborn b356, p.252.

otherwise everyday occurrence through a very short poem. Requiring the dead to speak in their own epitaphs does not necessarily mean that the dead will be figuratively 'resurrected' in a reverential way.

Integrating the Dead and the Living – A Blurring of Boundaries

Even within this post-Reformation Protestant narrative, the ways in which the practicalities of having the dead address the living are approached by epitaph composers are reasonably varied. After all, 'first person' epitaphs are all fictions - a living person always speaks on behalf of a dead one. Even when one composes one's own epitaph, it still requires a leap of imagination on the reader's part to regard it to be the voice of a deceased individual currently interred, rather than the living one who put pen to paper. Understanding the way in which this fiction is presented to the reader allows us to explore how the boundary between living and dead is conceived of as at least partially permeable, particularly in relation to which side of the divide the dead appear to be speaking from.

The boundary between living and dead is perhaps shown as the thinnest when the epitaph narrates the expectation of an imminent death, or the recent experience of dying, exploiting the liminality of the 'soon-to-be-dead' which is familiar to other forms of discourse (such as scaffold speeches and deathbed narratives like *ars moriendi*).[77] An 'Epitaph on a young man' in BL Add. MS 30982 opens with the lines, 'Surprizd by greif & sickness here I ly | Stopt in my middle age and sone made dead'.[78] The deceased speaks to the living explicitly from within their body (referring explicitly to 'here' for the placement of the body), the suddenness and immediacy of death's blow seeming so recent that the

[77] *Ars Moriendi* texts were instructional books to teach the reader 'The Art of Dying', in order to ensure a 'good' Christian death. These texts often emphasise the importance of the speech of the dying, where possible, the dying would ideally continue to speak and pray until the last moment. Where speech was impossible, it was hoped that the dying would remain able to communicate his faith through gestures in order to demonstrate his preparedness for death – see *The English ars moriendi* ed. by David William Atkinson (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1992). For those who died in less auspicious circumstances, speeches were an expected part of the theatre of scaffold executions. See J. A. Sharpe, '"Last Dying Speeches" Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 107 (1985), 144-67, and Charles Carlton, 'The rhetoric of death: Scaffold confessions in early modern England', *Southern Speech Communication Journal*, 49, (1983) 66-79.

[78] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 23^{r}.

soul has not yet left the body. As with the epitaph for Wray, and the epitaph on a child, this voice gains wisdom from the experience of death, continuing to tell the reader:

> yet doe not grudge at god if soone thou dy
> But know he treebles fauour on thy head
> who for the morninge worke equalls the pay
> with those who haue endurd the heat of day.[79]

We almost see the transition from bodily to celestial perspective as *moriens* tells us with the certainty of experience that God will not reward those that die young any less, before finally offering a précis of the parable of the workers in the vineyard.[80] The voice of the living man at the beginning of this poem lacks wisdom, (and is 'surprizd' by grief), but that voice then passes through the deceased body, and into a heavenly comprehension of God's grace. The living poet subtly narrates the transition from a worldly life into celestial afterlife, all the while speaking with the voice of the dead. This journey into death is of course, ultimately related to us by a living poet. Early modern collectors and readers of such epitaphs were apparently tolerant of the lack of clear distinction between the living and the dead in texts such as this, and as has been suggested above in relation to other vaguely expressed sentiments such as 'as I am now', a certain degree of flexibility in the interpretation of the text is a reasonable expectation.

In all of these cases, the way in which the living speak for the dead is concealed within the central conceit of the epitaph, that is, the pretence that it is really the dead speaking to us. Occasionally this relationship between dead subject and living voice is rendered much more unambiguous. In this case, the title of the poem explicitly states that these words are *not* those of the deceased, but those of a friend. This poem is found printed in Camden's *Remaines Concerning Britain*, but also appears in manuscript settings. In CUL MS Add. 57 it reads in full:

[79] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 23^{r}.
[80] Matthew 20.1-16.

A gent fallinge from his howse[81] [sic.] brake his necke, w*hi*^{c}*h* gaue this bad woorld cawse to iudge dyuersly of his bad lyfe: where vpon a good friende made him this Epitaphe re*mem*bringe St Augustin M<a>isercordia d*omi*ni inter po*nte*m et fontem.

Thy friende Iudge not mee

Thou seest I Iudge not thee:

Bytwyxte the styrrop et the Grownde

Mercy I asked, mercye I fownde[82]

This conspicuously Protestant approach to salvation highlights the close proximity to death that we all accept on a daily basis, where death can be found at the end of a short fall from the 'styrrop' to the 'Grownde', during which Salvation occurs. Rather surprisingly in this case, the title quite openly discusses the fact that this apparently 'first person' epitaph is actually written by a friend of the deceased. By ventriloquising the dead in such a way, the living writer inhabits the space beyond the grave in order to speak back to the living, and over-write the narrative constructed by 'this bad woorld' with the final authority of an epitaph. While it is always true that the writer need only draw upon the authority of the epitaph genre in order to effectively 'claim' the voice of the dead, in this epitaph the living survivor goes further by challenging the boundary between living and dead to re-write the story of a friend.

It is a commonly accepted view that early modern funerary monuments are intended to sustain the role of the dead individual in the community, repairing the tear left in the social fabric created by a death.[83] It would be reductive to suggest that this is the only motivation for copying first-person epitaphs into manuscripts, but at least to some degree, this impulse appears to be sustained in the transition from a stone to a paper graveyard. When they speak, the dead are frequently given a useful

[81] There is an 'x' mark above this word in another hand – suggesting a transcription error with 'howse' for 'horse' that was picked up by a later reader.
[82] CUL, MS Add. 57, fol. 92^{r}.
[83] Nigel Llewellyn's work is instructive here, both in *The Art of Death*, and in his larger work *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England,* which builds upon the work of Llewellyn, and which focuses more closely on the ways in which memory is constructed in monuments.

role where they continue to take part in their community (although now a literary, rather than a parish one) by offering advice, comfort, and wisdom. While the dead may make gestures to where they now lie, they are often freed from these constraints, occupying no fixed space. Depending on their purpose in addressing the living, they may speak with their body (or from an earthly position near it), or from an afterlife in which wisdom and direct experience of God's grace is shared. This complexity of expression in a medium so open to creative adaptation makes for a representation of 'the talking dead' which is at once funny, wise, and intensely 'present' in nature.

IV: Manuscripts In Dialogue

Manuscript compilers may well choose to collect material that was never available at a grave site, or creatively edit epitaphs transcribed from graves, but few of these dialogue types discussed above would look too out of place on an early modern English gravestone and are not necessarily unique to manuscript circulation in their effects when considered individually. Where manuscript collections differ from epitaphs in their traditional graveyard setting is the way that texts can be combined with one another in 'paper graveyards' that may organise content according to literary expression, not by rank, age, or design, as in God's acre. Collecting epitaphs can be also regarded as a dialogic activity in so far as they would typically involve a degree of real-life dialogue in the process of gathering of material, making manuscript epitaphs more self-consciously the products of sociability than those found in graveyards. Some items undoubtedly came from printed sources that the compiler may already have owned, but others will have been borrowed from or recommended by fellow readers (Stowe's *Survay of London*, and Camden's *Remaines Concerning Britain* are both popular choices for copying material, for example).[84] In other cases, there is more direct evidence of sharing of

[84] See Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, '"Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78. Jardine and Grafton's work demonstrated the ways in which reading was a socially constituted activity, with printed books being circulated amongst a social circle, or indeed, being read together at the same time. In particular, see pp. 36-40, in which this documented practice is described in detail.

manuscripts between socially connected individuals or 'coteries'.[85] Two different types of dialogue in epitaphs that are explicitly linked to their manuscript context emerge – the communication required for the texts to circulate between interested parties, and the way in which texts are made to 'speak' to one another from within the same compiled text. This final section considers these types of dialogic exchange, and the specific impacts of manuscript circulation on the epitaphs copied within.

Dialogue as a Condition of Manuscript Circulation

The majority of the epitaphs surveyed in this study emerge from commonplace books – texts which are composites of material that the user found insightful, interesting, or useful. Commonplace books are a particularly focused site of social copying of texts, often produced as groups of like-minded individuals shared texts of mutual interest within a given social circle. Universities and Inns of Court were hotbeds of literary activity, with authors such as John Donne, William Strode and Richard Corbett being some of the most famous of the 'university wits' to have used manuscript as the main means of circulation for their texts. Christ Church College, Oxford was a literary hub for Jacobean verse collectors, and a number of manuscripts included in this study bear the hallmarks of Christ Church origins.[86] For example, BL Add. MS 30982 and Folger v.a.103 share a selection of epitaphs for Christ Church personalities (particularly butlers) as well as a large collection of verses which can be attributed to Christ Church figures. Nonetheless, there is ample evidence of inter-university sharing of texts which would otherwise seem to be associated with a particular location.

CUL MS Add. 4138 is mostly likely associated with Cambridge rather than Oxford University – the opening section of the manuscript contains a few verses by Richard Corbett critiquing Cambridge's hospitality on the occasion of King James I's 1615 visit to the university, but this appears to be included as a foil to the numerous subsequent verses praising Cambridge's entertainments over those provided

[85] See Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995). In particular, Chapter 1, 'Lyrics and the Manuscript System' (pp. 1-68) details some of the ways in which manuscripts were socially circulated.
[86] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, pp. 32-3.

at Oxford. The crossover between the two universities takes place in these manuscripts in order to fuel a rivalry, substantiating the differences between the two communities. In other cases, the borrowing elides differences between Oxford and Cambridge. A comic epitaph for a 'Mr Prick' of 'Christs Colledge in Cambridge' is copied in CUL MS Add. 9221, but also appears in BL Add. MS 30982 as an epitaph for 'Mr Pricke of Ch*rist* Ch*urch*', an Oxford college. Claire Bryony Williams identifies the likely subject of this epitaph as Edmund Pricke, who matriculated at Christ's College in 1578, and whose will is dated 1606.[87] Williams notes that Folger MS V.a.345 rather ambiguously locates Mr Pricke as from simple 'C: C:', an ambiguity which has perhaps lead to at least four other copies locating Mr Pricke at Christ Church rather than Christ's in Cambridge.[88] The epitaph was overwhelmingly popular (Williams claims that it is preserved in three times as many manuscripts as Shakespeare's epitaph on himself) and perhaps enough literary traffic took place between the two institutions with unclear enough attributions that some compilers simply assumed that the text came from the more literary of the two colleges.[89] Whatever the rationale, Christ Church compilers were more than contented to claim Mr Pricke as their own. Textual transmission in manuscript requires an embodied collection of readers, and in this case, the location of the 'resting place' and local identity of Mr Prick becomes something which can be modified and adapted to the demands of the copyist, rather than the statement of fact that it might represent when on a physical tomb.

Dialogue Within the Manuscript Text

As well as evidence of social dialogues which produce epitaph collections, or dialogue *between* manuscripts, there is also dialogue produced *within* manuscript collections where texts may be called upon in a way which allows them to speak to one another. Collection in manuscripts offers new ways

[87] Claire Bryony Williams, 'Manuscript, Monument, Memory: the Circulation of Epitaphs in the 17th Century', *Literature Compass* 11/8 (2014), 573–582 (p. 578), accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12169> [accessed 25 November 2020]. It is worth noting that Arthur F. Marotti regards this 'Mr Prick' as an 'individual not to be confused with Christ Church, Cambridge', suggesting some ambiguity in identity here. See Marotti, '"Rolling Archetypes": Christ Church, Oxford Poetry Collections, and the Proliferation of Manuscript Verse Anthologies in Caroline England', *English Literary Renaissance* 44 (2014), 486-523 (p. 507). Accessed via <http://www.jstor.com/stable/43607783> [accessed 25 November 2020].

[88] Williams, 'Manuscript, Monument, Memory', p. 578.

[89] Williams, 'Manuscript, Monument, Memory', p. 581.

to create connections and produce dialogue that are not accessible in quite the same way in a churchyard context.

Repetition and careful contextualisation are two tools that compilers can use to produce new meanings from the texts that they collect. Marcy L. North identifies six manuscripts where epitaphs for Prince Henry Stuart (d. 1612) are collected in close proximity to epitaphs on anonymous children, a move which North regards as 'rendering the loss of England's heir to the throne less political, more personal, and also more typical'.[90] Buried in Westminster Abbey with the honours befitting a royal heir, it would be inconceivable for Prince Henry to have shared that space with monuments to anonymous, common-born children. In manuscript though, epitaphs for the Prince can be brought into dialogue with epitaphs for other children, transforming the role of the Prince's epitaph into a very personal act of public grief. The effect of such collocations is empowering. Where few (if any) verse compilers would have the authority to determine the placement of physical monuments, here, it is possible for the compiler to make their own associations between the occupants of their imaginative graveyard. Organising the space according to sentiment, not rank, allows for the crown prince to be laid to rest as if by a nation of grieving parents, rather than by his subjects. Other public figures do not fare quite as well under the scrutiny of a manuscript epitaph. The scandalous life of Lady Penelope Rich (d. 1607) ensured her anonymous burial in an unmarked grave, but this did not prevent manuscript verse compilers from making crude suggestions as to what might have made a fitting epitaph. In particular, Lady Penelope's bigamous marriage to Sir Charles Blount was a popular topic of faux-epitaphs which would of course, never have been approved for public display in a churchyard. An example in Cambridge University Library MS Add. 9221 offers:

> Heere lies the Lady Penelope, or the Lady Riche
>
> or the Countesse of Devonshire I cannot tell which [91]

[90] North, 'Anonymity in Early Modern Manuscript Culture', pp. 20-21.
[91] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 99^{v}.

Epitaphs for Lady Penelope emphasise the scandal that dogged the last years of her life, and are often collected alongside epitaphs for other scandalous court figures, or simply repeated examples of libellous epitaphs on the same topic.[92] The dead subject is not commemorated in a way that offers closure on a life completed, but is made to re-live their most infamous moments alongside their equally infamous peers in an alternative faux-graveyard that celebrates transgressions rather than accomplishments. Social positions and relationships in life do not necessarily correspond with the treatment received in manuscript epitaph culture after death, inviting further dialogue in the form of the tension between the reputation, power and influence of a figure in life, and their treatment in commemoration after death.

Epitaphs may be juxtaposed alongside one another on the page to suggest multiple possibilities for the same text. British Library Sloane MS 2623 is a composite manuscript comprised of a thematically diverse set of booklets ranging from histories to mathematics, though each booklet is internally consistent. One such booklet is a collection of epitaphs with a few sparse examples of lyric verse interspersed throughout. The compiler has copied out the text of a traditional 'As I am now' type memento mori twice, joined by a bracket (see figure 3). One version has a nameless poetic voice speaking to the reader about a woman's body ('As you are now | Soe was shee') and the other has the dead speaking as a collective, rather than as an individual person with an intact consciousness ('Such as you are, such were wee').[93] In these two narratives, the dead cease to have the individualised voice that usually characterises this *memento mori*, but become either inanimate bodies that must be spoken for, or a de-individualised collective that may only speak

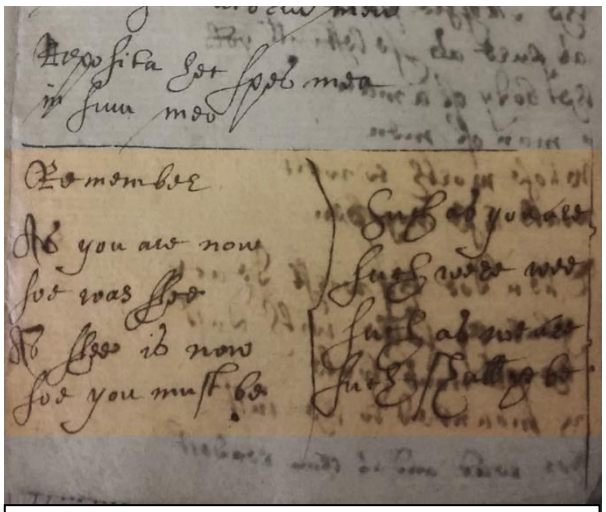


Figure 3: British Library Sloane MS 2623, fol. 77ᵛ.

[92] Libels against Lady Penelope Rich are considered in greater detail in Chapter 4.
[93] London, British Library (BL), BL Sloane MS 2623, fol. 77ᵛ.

in concert to warn the living that they will soon join their faceless ranks. The representation of the nature of 'the dead' and how they may be spoken with is made unstable, even on the same page of a manuscript.

Later in the same manuscript, the compiler copies out an epitaph that states:

> Death is the doore
>
> To Imortality
>
> Shes borne to god
>
> that to the world doth dye[94]

Alongside this, the compiler has written in large letters, 'she or hee', an inclusion that is suggestive of the way in which the compiler may have regarded this collection of texts (see figure 4). Perhaps they simply wished to note that they did not feel anything about this particular epitaph distinguished it as gendered, but the decision to include the suggestion that the gender may be altered implies that the compiler envisaged possibilities for this text to be *used* having noted that it might serve more than one recipient.

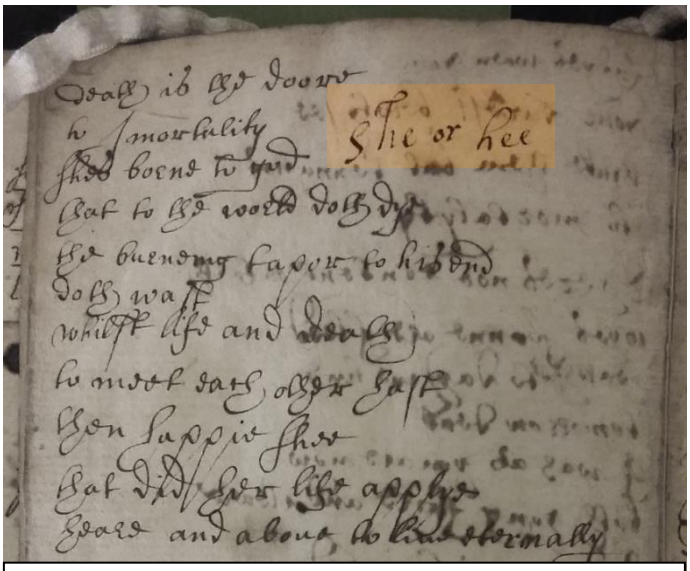


Figure 4: British Library Sloane MS 2623, fol. 79^{v}.

There is further evidence that this compiler was content with the suggestion that any given epitaph need not be personal to any given dead individual, and may be repurposed. Early in the booklet, the epitaph 'Twice twelve years' is copied twice in close proximity, on fol. 76^{r} and fol. 80^{r}. What is particularly remarkable about this is that the first line of the copy of the poem found on fol. 76^{r} reads

[94] BL, MS Sloane 2623, fol. 78^{v}.

'Not twice ten yeares of age', while the copy on fol. 80^{r} reads 'Twice twelues years not ^fully^ tould'.[95] Claire Bryony Williams' study of the transmission of this epitaph describes the 'twice ten' variant as a customisation of the usual 'twice twelve' text found on the tombstone of a twenty-year-old glover, John Buckland, which survives independent of other earlier sources.[96] It does appear possible that this verse collector obtained the two epitaphs from two different sources – not only are there differences in lineation (the fol. 76^{r} copy puts line breaks half way through what would normally be each line) but there are other small divergences in the text which appear to render 'twice ten' an inferior copy. For example, fol. 76^{r} omits the 'not fully told' usually found in the first line, and reads 'loves' instead of 'loveth' at what would usually be line four, breaking the metre of the line. The closing line also lacks the satisfying chiasmic ring usually given to this poem in the comparison between the '**days** of mirth but **months** of sorrow' lost by an early death – instead, it is rendered on fol. 76^{r} as 'some **days** of rest but **more** of sorrow' (my emphasis). Whether this comes about because of the difference in ages recorded by the epitaphs or because of their separate origins, this compiler clearly felt that almost identical poems were worth copying twice in close proximity, making two separate voices speak from the 'same' text without any sense of violation or disrespect.

In other cases the rationale for repetition is more opaque. The Smith family manuscript from Somerset (compiled across many years, beginning around 1620) contains a substantial section of epitaphs, separated into 'Laudatory' or 'Merry & Satyricall'. In the latter section, the compiler copies several epitaphs on one page in an apparently haphazard manner. First is an 'occupational' epitaph of sorts 'On the Porter of Winchester', who was apparently in fear of Hell not 'so much for his sinne, | As for the greate rapping and oft com*m*ing in'.[97] Directly beneath this is the epitaph for Owen, the butler of Christ Church who offers death a drink (as discussed above in BL Add. MS 30982), and another shorter,

[95] BL, MS Sloane 2623, fol. 76^{r}, fol. 80^{r}.
[96] Williams, 'Manuscript, Monument, Memory', p. 576.
[97] FSL, MS V.a.103, fol. 21^{r}.

much more irreverent epitaph for Owen, utterly lacking in the sense of loss in the poem set in the Buttery hatch. It simply reads, in its entirety:

> Here lies old Owen, that lately did dye;
>
> Did you know him? no more did I.[98]

These poems offer a curious comparison – the light-hearted (yet apparently sincere) and the heartless. Stranger still, directly beneath this is a word-for-word copy of the epitaph for the Porter of Winchester, the only significant difference being that the title supplies 'the Porter of Winchester **gate**' (my emphasis). While the repetition of subject in the epitaphs for Owen the Butler offers at least the sharp contrast in tone for justification, the epitaphs for the Winchester Porter are identical, and defy such obvious semantic logic. Perhaps instead, this is a fanciful play on the occupation of the Porter, repeatedly called upon for the 'greate rapping and oft com*m*ing in', opening and closing the door for a fellow departed Oxford member of staff. Such trivialities are not so easily arranged in a graveyard, but can be readily applied to a manuscript.

This 'paper graveyard' may also act as a means to gather together court gossip, sometimes with strong political motivations. Joshua Eckhardt's examination of two manuscript miscellanies created by the same compiler establishes the way in which sections of Camden's *Remaines* are adapted and extended in Folger V.a.103 and University of Nottingham MS Portland Pw V 37. Eckhardt argues that the ordering of the texts places them into an epideictic dialogue in which the epitaphs that revel in the misdeeds of prominent courtiers help to extol the virtues of those who merited a more laudatory epitaph.[99] While Eckhardt is careful to establish that this is only one compiler's approach to such texts and may be best regarded as 'idiosyncratic', this rationale for compilation can also be seen applied to other texts.[100] For example, CUL MS Add. 4138 is a poetical miscellany that contains a substantial

[98] FSL, MS V.a.103, fol. 21^{r}.
[99] Joshua Eckhardt, 'Camden's Remaines and a Pair of Epideictic Poetry Anthologies' in *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England* ed. by Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 169-182.
[100] Eckhardt, 'Camden's Remaines and a Pair of Epideictic Poetry Anthologies', p.170.

section of epitaphs, alongside other occasional verse. The compiler copies an elegy for Sir Thomas Overbury (d. 1613) lamenting his untimely death at the hands of his former friend, Robert Carr, 1st Earl of Somerset and Carr's wife, Frances Carr, Countess of Somerset. This is copied alongside a lengthy elegy 'of our euer glorious Queene Anne', setting the section in a funerary, laudatory mode.[101] These poems are closely followed by a pair of libels on Frances and Robert Carr, who were both still living at the time that the manuscript appears to see the most use. It is no stretch to suggest that the compiler saw these libels as indicative of the legacy the infamous couple could expect when their time for epitaphs would come – an impression that is condensed by the fact that immediately following these libels are a motley collection of libellous epitaphs for other scandalous court figures, including the 'Infamous Ladie Lake' of the Lake-Roos affair.[102] Not only is the praise for Overbury rendered greater by the immediate comparison to his murderers, but by placing libels in direct engagement with epitaphs, it is made clear that the compiler felt Overbury is in the grave in the earl and countess of Somerset's place, and that the Somersets more rightly belonged alongside the dead. The deliberate bookending of these texts with elegies and epitaphs substantially reshapes the libels found in between.

While the dialogic nature of manuscript miscellanies has been well-documented, other types of lyric verse differ from epitaphs in that they do not usually have a 'real-world' counterpart heavily constrained by propriety, tradition, and cost in the same way that epitaphs bear a relationship to graveyards. This makes the re-ordering, re-contextualisation, and juxtaposition of such texts within and between manuscripts all the more exciting and all the more meaningful, since these acts of compilation can represent anything from sustaining traditional remembrance to acts of open rebellion against the graveyard norm. The ability to create dialogue between epitaphs in manuscripts is a source of new meanings for these texts, unique to each compiler's preferences.

[101] CUL, MS Add. 4138, fols. 44^{r}-45^{v}.
[102] CUL, MS Add. 4138, fol. 47^{v}. The Lake-Roos scandal is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

This chapter has had to use a fairly wide scope in order to adequately survey the extent to which epitaphs rely on forms of speech and dialogue to fulfil their purposes as both markers of a death, and as a means to offer consolation and resolution to the difficult and often conflicting feelings produced by a bereavement. While the impersonal 'here lies' form of speech remains the most familiar and recognisable type of 'epitaphic speech' it is far from the only way in which early modern poets approached epitaph writing, and as has been demonstrated here, those more unusual forms of address are often extremely constructive snapshots, offering insights into the way in which death is rationalised and processed. These attempts to 'tame' death and the feelings it produces are often heavily reliant on folk beliefs and pseudo-religious rationalisation – ideas which perhaps don't pass muster on strictly theological grounds, but which are nonetheless dearly-held convictions that offer hope and consolation. Sometimes the dead are marked as earthly and present, sometimes they are positioned as speaking explicitly from a state of heavenly grace. The dead may be silent, or they may be talkative and jovial, intruding into their own memorials. Likewise, we are presented with a range of speakers who address a range of audiences – everything from extremely self-effacing speakers whose voices are almost a vacuum that the reader must fill, to deeply emotive and engaged speakers who actively attempt to console the listener. If there is nothing else to be drawn from this, it is that epitaphs in this period are fundamentally talkative texts, with approaches that range from chatty, vernacular, and gossipy, to a more sombre and profound heart to heart from one bereaved person to another. Dialogue is an essential tool in negotiating expressions of concern and grief, as well as in establishing the position and role of the dead amongst the living left behind.

If it feels as though I have offered little in the way of conclusive answers in exploring these (often, deeply divisive) issues about what it is to grieve, and where the dead are to be found – and indeed spoken with, that is because the answers are not freely given by the epitaphs themselves. Epitaphs in manuscripts are not just a final, decisive marker of a death, but they are a discursive space in which complex emotions and existential questions are worked through. The ability of manuscript compilers

to re-situate and re-purpose these texts keeps any potential resolution to these questions in a constant state of flux, as old texts are made to speak to new contexts in a constantly shifting imaginative graveyard.

Chapter 3: Death is a Laughing Matter

Introduction

Comical epitaphs are rarely seen 'in the wild' in the churchyard, and are usually met with institutional disapproval when the relatives of the deceased attempt to place one there - for example, the comedian Spike Milligan was famously permitted to be buried under his chosen epitaph, 'I told you I was ill' only if it was conveyed in Gaelic.[1] Similarly, Karl S. Guthke documents the case of a German bartender buried in Berlin who had requested a gravestone with a beer tap attached – the tap was duly removed by the authorities, since cemetery ordinances were designed to ensure that the dignity of the graveyard not be disturbed by monuments making light of the grave's occupants.[2] Yet however staid the usual churchyard fare may tend to be, an appetite for light-hearted, foolish, and funny epitaphs has always persisted in other media; just as there are a number of popular collections of comical epitaphs in print now, so they proliferated in manuscript in the early modern period.[3] These texts provide insights into the relationship between living and dead that are poorly represented in more formal contexts, and as such, have gone largely unremarked in current scholarship that favours printed and lapidary sources. Comedy offers a very different perspective on what it means to commemorate the dead, and merits serious attention.

This chapter explores the logic and motivation for these funny epitaphs, situating them more broadly in beliefs about, and approaches to death in the early modern period. The end of a life has no intrinsic right to make us laugh, and yet time and again, comedy is found deeply embedded in the tragedy of death in these texts. While it is not fully possible to reconstruct the expectations of what was and was not humorous, what was and was not off-limits, and what the specific purpose of each individual comic

[1] 'Milligan gets last laugh on grave', *BBC News* 24 May 2004, accessed via <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/southern_counties/3742443.stm> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[2] Karl S. Guthke, *Epitaph Culture in the West: Variations on a Theme in Cultural History* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003) p. 192.
[3] Just over 26% (132/500) of the epitaphs surveyed for this study were identified as being 'comical' in tone. This is usually represented by comical epitaphs dispersed through a collection that will also include more serious fare. British Library Add. MS 30982, Cambridge University Library MS Add. 9221 and Folger V.a.103 are particularly good examples of this type of collection.

epitaph may have been, certain aspects of historical humour can be carefully excavated from these literary remains. A number of key questions about the function and structure of humorous epitaphs naturally emerge which are similar in nature to the concerns of the previous chapter. For example, who is at the butt of the joke, and who is producing the comedy? When an epitaph is funny, is it the dead who are being laughed at, the living, or someone(thing) else? How are 'funny' epitaphs signalled as worthy of laughter? I certainly seek to address these concerns, but more pressing than these dialogic, structural forms of the joke are the cultural expectations that lie behind the humour, as it is these expectations that make the joke possible. It is not simply a case of *who* is expected to do the laughing, but *why* they are expected to laugh – and when a joke does land, what purpose does such laughter serve, if any?

In service to these questions, the first half of this chapter explores the early modern cultural narratives that justify black humour. I consider in turn the literary, medical, and religious justifications and uses for this type of joke in order to situate comical epitaphs in the broader context in which they were produced and read. The latter half of this chapter turns to a discussion of the more structural expectations of humour, and approaches epitaphs according to three key philosophical theories of humour which seek to explain what it is that prompts us to laughter. This section looks to the epitaphs themselves in more detail, and how they measure up against these prevailing theories of humour, and how these understandings of comedy lend insight into the role and purpose of funny epitaphs. This study deals directly with the manuscript environment in which these texts appear, and the cultural understanding of death that the freedom embedded in the manuscript medium gives rise to.

I: Laughing at Death in Early Modern England

As popular as comical epitaphs in manuscripts may be, they rarely offer much in the way of rationale for their collection and composition – the compiler knew why the epitaphs they copied were amusing, and usually had no reason to explain the joke. We do not usually have direct evidence for why death was considered a ripe subject for laughter, or why it is mediated through the epitaph genre, or what

purpose such collections served. Instead, our understanding of the early modern predilection for gallows humour must often come from other sources which speak to similar concerns. For it is not just epitaphs that treat death in a comical way in this period – there is a strong culture of confronting the horror and misfortune of death with laughter in both educational and recreational contexts. This study begins at the outside and works its way in to the epitaphs themselves, nestling them amongst other cultural narratives in which death is laughed at.

Even when a rationale for collecting comical epitaphs is given, it can leave us with more questions than answers. William Camden's *Remaines Concerning Britain* collects a vast selection of epitaphs largely concerned with stately figures such as kings, queens, bishops and noblemen, but following this serious fare comes an extended section entirely comprised of epitaphs that are all in some way comical or light-hearted in tone. By way of justification for the inclusion of comic epitaphs, Camden frets:

> But I feare now I haue ouercharged the Readers minde, with dolefull, dumpish, and vncomfortable lines. I will therefore for his recomfort, end this part with a few conceited, merry, and laughing Epitaphes […] [4]

The epitaphs Camden records here – and many others besides, lead a lively life in the pages of manuscripts as well as printed books. However, where a manuscript rarely offers a rationale for its selection criteria (they are normally intended for personal use, making such distinctions unnecessary), here Camden offers us an explanation for his logic in including these comical epitaphs at the end of his book. The unusual circumstance of being given a rationale for selection of texts is tantalising, but it is an explanation that raises as many questions as it answers.

Having offered epitaphs with serious words of wisdom for respected figures, Camden is concerned that the reader's mind will need 'recomfort', suggesting that there is something sincerely disquieting

[4] William Camden, *Remaines of a greater worke, concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their languages, names, surnames, empreses, wise speeches, poësies, and epitaphes* (London: George Eld for Simon Waterson, 1605), p. 56, sig. g4^{v}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 4521. Accessed via <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99843109e> [accessed 25 November 2020].

about epitaphs and the experience of reading them, and that this may be remedied by reading more light-hearted funerary verses. The poems that follow appear to be obtained from a range of sources, though where possible, Camden is careful to offer the reader details of the location of the churches in which such epitaphs can be found, verifying them as 'real' epitaphs where he can. This suggests that it is not the epitaph's status as marking a genuine death that is the source of any discomfort, and uncomfortable feelings produced by reading epitaphs have more to do with the content of the text – after all, 'real' epitaphs can still be used to soothe painful feelings generated by sombre epitaphs. In fact, if it were the 'genuine' nature of gravestone epitaphs with their implication of a real bereavement that caused the distress that Camden worries about, one might imagine that he would be keen to celebrate the inauthenticity of some of the merrier texts he includes. In practice though, he does quite the opposite. Not all of the 'merry' epitaphs Camden provides come from God's acre - in many cases, no ascription is offered, most likely because the epitaph in question only existed in a manuscript 'paper graveyard' at that point. In these cases, Camden has a number of careful strategies for increasing the authenticity of such texts where a grave location cannot be provided. Sometimes he offers details of who wrote the epitaph, for example, in one case he notes that the epitaph was written by 'a friend of his that knew him'; here, the author's proximity to the deceased acts as a substitute for authenticity in the absence of a grave.[5] Where even this is not possible, Camden positions himself as the authority on which the authenticity of the epitaphs rests. For example, he offers, 'Upon merry Tarlton, I haue heard this'.[6] He also acknowledges that epitaphs not located on a permanent gravestone may well change over time or go out of style, explaining that 'For Old Th. Churchyard the poore Court poet, this is now commonly current', justifying its status as an epitaph (in spite of the lack of grave inscription) through its apparently popular repetition.[7] Merry epitaphs are not 'recomfort' *in spite of* being on a real gravestone, having incurred real loss. Rather, Camden's thorough insistence on marking the

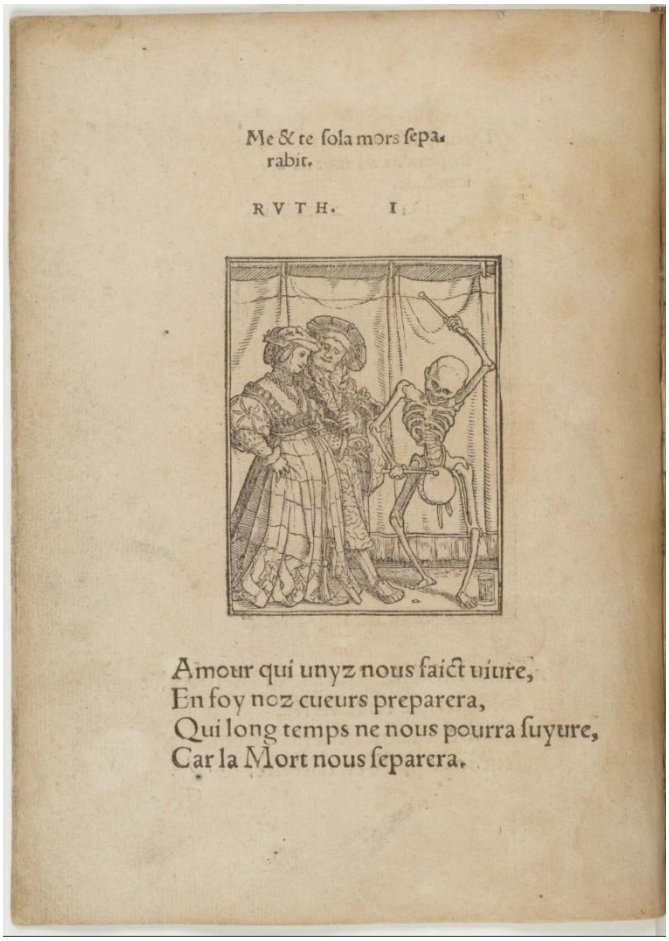
[5] Camden, *Remaines Concerning Britain*, sig. h1^{r}, p.57.
[6] Camden, *Remaines Concerning Britain*, sig. h1^{v}, p.58.
[7] Camden, *Remaines Concerning Britain*, sig. h2r, p. 59.

epitaphs as 'real' in some material way suggests that the veracity and use of an epitaph is an essential part of the role they play in his collection.

Camden's justification doesn't really clarify why the epitaphs he chooses are considered amusing, or why these texts may be perceived as soothing even as Camden tries to associate them with real, sometimes presumably painful losses. Nonetheless, such texts prove vastly popular in manuscript collections, and as in Camden's work, often one finds funny, silly epitaphs side-by-side with apparently serious epitaphs (although in these cases, without a statement from the compiler justifying their place there).[8] Though Camden's *Remaines* does not offer a transparent rationale for the role of comical epitaphs, what it does achieve for our purposes is to demonstrate that humorous epitaphs comfortably straddled multiple literary traditions, existing in manuscript, by word of mouth, on stone, and in print, signalling broad acceptance and popularity in both formal and informal contexts (though it would be remiss of me not to note that the more outrageous of Camden's 'merry' epitaphs come decisively from non-churchyard sources). Even with Camden's justification for the inclusion of joking epitaphs though, he offers us little in the way of explanation for the contexts of authorship or reception, only his own use for them as a diversion from serious matters. If an account for the genesis of this peculiar phenomenon is to be sought, it must extend beyond collections like these, and examine the way in which laughter in the face of death (both real and fictionalised) is figured in other cultural endeavours in the period, which may serve to justify or normalise the experience of laughing at death in epitaphs.

[8] Over half of the manuscripts surveyed contained at least one comical item and 26% of the individual poems studied are comical in nature. The popularity of these poems is often readily attestable using the Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse which often contains numerous entries for amusing epitaphs, indicating a healthy circulation of these poems. Accessed via <https://firstlines.folger.edu/> [accessed 25 November 2020].

The ability to laugh at death does not originate in the early modern period by any means, with medieval discourses of death exhibiting an active interest in macabre gallows humour. The skeletal death of the *Danse Macabre* is often depicted as in perversely good humour, though his fellow dancers do not share the sentiment – they are, after all, the butt of his joke (see figure 5). Even in otherwise serious contexts, humour is still often abundant. Phoebe Spinrad discusses the *memento mori* exercise in which the living contemplates death by confronting a human skull as it appears in Petrus Luccensis' *Dialogue of Dying Wel*, an *ars moriendi* text that serves to instruct the reader in the challenge of achieving a 'good' death, so as to have the best possible chance of ascending to heaven. This tradition extends from medieval *memento mori* into a long-lived convention that reaches its most famous conclusion in the gravedigger scene in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.[9] Luccensis' text is by no means an inherently comical enterprise, yet Spinrad describes the address to the skull as 'more mocking than fearful'. The man asks the skull where his 'fine yealow heares', 'faire white forehead', 'cleare shyning eyes', and 'tongue that so well could speak' have gone, seemingly mocking the skull's inability to



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 5: A jovial Death plays drums for non-plussed onlookers in *Les simulachres et histories faces de la mort, autant élégamment pourtraictes, que artificiellement imagines* (Lyons, 1538), sig Gi^{v}. Bibliothèque nationale de France. <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb306116444>

[9] Phoebe Spinrad, *The Summons of Death on the Medieval and Renaissance English Stage* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1987), pp. 214-5.

answer. The living man continues to ask of the skull, 'what rasor hath bene so cruel that it hath shauen away all thy hair and flesh', and 'who hath made thee so monstrous and ill-fauored', piling indignities onto the skull before calling it 'so horrible and vglie to beholde, that thow puttest euerie one in feare'.[10] Fear is not prompted because of the mortality the skull represents, as much as its ugly appearance. Spinrad explains that 'a certain amount of badinage seems to have been expected even from devout practitioners of the *memento mori* exercise', apparently without detracting from its more serious purpose.[11] The mockery that takes place here is not precisely a mockery of the skull itself, but a recursive self-mockery. The Christian man laughs at the skull:

> because he saw in it the absurdity of human pretensions before the throne of God [...] It is not the sense that everything is ridiculous because it will one day collapse into Nothing, but rather a sense that it is absurd to care so much for an inferior product – both the skull and the flesh that clothes it – instead of the Everything that lies beyond it.[12]

To laugh at death can well be considered part of the medieval and early modern experience of understanding the importance of mortality in relation to God's supremacy and grace.

While black humour is not an innovation of early modern culture, it does manifest itself with startling clarity in literary culture of this period, particularly drama. There was clearly an appetite for such humour, and it can be assumed that theatre-going and play-reading citizens must have had at least some familiarity with the macabre turn that fictional entertainment might take. Spinrad describes Hamlet's contemplation of Yorick's skull as 'One of the last orthodox uses of the memento mori on the Renaissance stage' as the medieval underpinnings of the metaphor lost relevance and became steadily more obsolete.[13]

[10] Petrus Luccensis, *Dialogue of Dying Wel*, quoted in Spinrad, *The Summons of Death*, pp. 214-5.
[11] Spinrad, *The Summons of Death*, p. 214.
[12] Spinrad, *The Summons of Death*, p. 214.
[13] Spinrad, *The Summons of Death*, p. 215.

The skull as *memento mori* certainly takes a perverse turn by the time it gets into Thomas Middleton's hands in *The Revenger's Tragedy* in the first decade of the seventeenth century. The titular revenger, Vindice, opens the play with a meditation on the skull of his beloved, Gloriana. Vindice tells us that when Gloriana lived, '[her] purer part would not consent' to the 'palsy lust' of the old Duke (1.1.33-4), and is poisoned for her refusal to give in to his advances.[14] Determined to avenge his lover's untimely death, Vindice infiltrates the court to gain the confidence of the Duke. The lecherous Duke approaches Vindice to arrange for him to 'greet him with a lady | In some fit place veiled from the eyes of the court' (3.5.12-3) and he obliges by presenting the Duke with the masked and bewigged skull of Gloriana, with the mouth of the skull anointed with the same poison that the Duke used to poison her nine years ago. Fooled by the disguise, the Duke penetrates the skull with a 'slobbering' kiss (3.5.166) that leaves his teeth and tongue eaten away by poison. As Vindice and his brother Hippolito brag at their successful deception, it becomes increasingly clear that Vindice is utterly insensible to the irony of what he has done. His claim that the 'very ragged bone | Has been sufficiently revenged' (3.5.153-4), rings hollow when the audience considers that Gloriana died to maintain her chastity in the face of the Duke's advances, only to have her betrothed defile her body in death. Vindice mocks the Duke's dissolving tongue, telling him that it will 'teach you to kiss closer, | Not like a slobbering Dutchman' (3.5.165-6) with no sense of horror that his beloved has been kissed in such a way by the man that she was so determined not to be pursued by. Comedy is deeply embedded in this murderous scene with the death's-head skull as a focal point for the laughter – we laugh at the Duke's lustful eagerness to be deceived by a painted corpse, we laugh at Gloriana's preposterous disguise, and at Vindice's utter mismanagement of Gloriana's revenge and legacy.

Laughter comes easily in Middleton's overblown tragi-comedy, but the temptation towards laughter also emerges in more controversial theatrical contexts. Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*

[14] Thomas Middleton (?), *The Revenger's Tragedy* in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. by David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katharine Eisaman Maus and Eric Rasmussen, (London: W. W. Norton, 2002) pp. 1297-1370. All subsequent quotations are from this edition.

dramatises the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572, in which a surge of Catholic mob violence saw thousands of Huguenot Protestants murdered in the streets of Paris. The play is only extant in the form of a short octavo copy that by all accounts, offers only a fragmentary version of the text – it is replete with repetition and borrowings from other plays, and contains confusing and often contradictory motivations for the play's main characters. Even Julia Briggs' detailed re-appraisal of this text describes 'Many, perhaps most, of the lines in the undated octavo text' as 'flat and clumsy', regarding the play as a whole as 'garbled and confused'.[15] Even accounting for its unhappy state of preservation in the literary canon, Marlowe's extraordinary dramatisation of the massacre indicates a willingness to laugh at atrocity, marking perversely black humour as not just socially acceptable, but popular.

The relatively recent place of the Huguenot massacre in relation to the early performances of the play presents one of the major interpretive difficulties of the text, in that it makes it challenging to justify the public appetite for a brutal performance of the murder of innocent Protestants without the cushioning effect of the passage of time. The killings took place within Marlowe's lifetime, and resulted in a huge influx of Huguenot refugees to the playwright's home city of Canterbury. Indeed, a chapel inside Canterbury Cathedral was given over to Huguenot refugees in 1575 by Queen Elizabeth I, which still hosts French-language services to this day.[16] Refugees also flooded into London, where the play was first performed. It has been suggested that as well as being familiar with the written accounts of the massacre from both Protestant and Catholic League sources, Marlowe likely learned of details of the massacre from oral accounts (though this can of course, not be conclusively demonstrated).[17] The play does not just focus on an act of anti-Protestant violence, but one that occurred within living memory, and for which first-hand accounts of the slaughter were readily available, detailing a conflict

[15] Julia Briggs, 'Marlowe's Massacre at Paris: A Reconsideration', *The Review of English Studies, New Series*, 34.135 (1983), 257- 278, (p.258). Accessed via <https://www.jstor.org/stable/517240> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[16] 'French Church', *Canterbury Cathedral* <https://www.canterbury-cathedral.org/worship/french-church/> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[17] Briggs, 'Marlowe's Massacre at Paris: A Reconsideration', p.262.

that in many ways continued to feel like a present threat. Even so, the playhouse-owner Philip Henslowe recorded the play as having earned the highest takings in the season when first performed.[18] The popularity of a play in which co-religionists are slaughtered en-masse could be attributed to its triumphantly Protestant finale, in which King Henri III abjures the Catholic church and lends his support to Queen Elizabeth's Protestant government. Nonetheless, this represents only a brief speech in the context of the play as a whole, which otherwise revels in staging mass murder in gory detail, and some critics have found explanation for the play's popularity in the way it gives license for the audience to watch the staged violence with unmitigated excitement.[19]

There is no shortage of evidence within the text for what might be considered a bleakly humorous turn in the portrayal of mob violence. When Admiral Coligny begs to pray before he dies, Gonzago quips, 'Then pray unto our Lady; kiss this cross' (5.28) before stabbing the Admiral, making the hilt of his sword the 'cross' by which the Admiral is invited to pray.[20] Where the other deaths are marked by their rapidity and the killers' cries of '*Tue, tue tue!*' as unnumbered, often unnamed swathes of Protestants are cut down, the death of Ramus the scholar is treated in much more detail, to comic effect. Though Ramus is warned to flee for his life, instead he stays to defend his scholarly reputation against the Guise's mimicry (and mockery) of his work. The wordplay between the two characters would no doubt be amusing for scholarly audiences, but on a more simplistic level, Ramus' dedication to his craft as a logician rather than to his God as a Protestant makes a comical contrast with the preceding murders. Marlowe also goes to great lengths to portray the deaths of religious figures in a comical context. The preacher Loreine is chased down by the Guise and his men, and when asked, 'are you a preacher of these heresies', he confirms his status as a 'preacher of the word of God' who regards the Catholics as 'a traitor to thy soul and Him'. The Guise's response is to mock the words of

[18] H. S. Bennett, 'Introduction', in Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta and The Massacre at Paris*, ed. by H. S. Bennett (London: Methuen, 1931), pp. 169-78 (p. 169).
[19] Briggs, 'Marlowe's Massacre at Paris: A Reconsideration', p.278.
[20] Christopher Marlowe, *The Massacre at Paris*, in *Christopher Marlowe: The Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 507-562. All subsequent quotations are from this edition.

Protestant preaching, saying, '"Dearly beloved brother" – thus 'tis written' as he stabs Loreine to death (7.2-5). While Marlowe obviously bestows a very sinister sense of humour on the Catholic assailants, the case for whether the audience would have found this funny or horrifying is certainly not closed – Kristen Elizabeth Poole likens the English Protestant audience laughing at the murder of the Huguenots to 'a Jewish audience of the movie *Schindler's List* guffawing wildly'.[21] Laughing at Marlowe's jokes in this play requires a complex negotiation of priorities.

We cannot know with certainty precisely how the audience regarded the use of humour in relation to the murder of co-Religionists in an act of unprecedented barbarism and cruelty, but we can be certain that it was regarded as acceptable, or funny enough to have made *The Massacre at Paris* a box-office success. Nor was Marlowe alone in staging this type of humour, as Briggs states:

> A comparable vein of grim comedy and ritualized violence is also to be found in some of Shakespeare's early work-notably in the Cade scenes and the murder of Suffolk in *2 Henry VI*, and the crowning of York in *3 Henry VI*. It belongs to a continuous dramatic tradition that can be traced back to the treatment of Christ's scourging and crucifixion in the mystery plays, episodes such as the Wakefield 'Coliphizacio', where Annas and Caiaphas amuse themselves by taking it in turns to buffet their helpless and suffering victim.[22]

Black humour is a consistent cultural presence in medieval and early modern England in educational *memento mori*, serious religious undertakings, fictional stories, and fictionalised versions of real-life events. Bodily humour at physical mutilation is well-represented, as are the more metaphysical representations of the death of ideas, ideals, and faith. Seated in this cultural, religious, and literary context, the use of humour in the seemingly serious medium of an epitaph is not an aberration, but is an entirely consistent part of the cultural landscape of popular attitudes towards death where laughter is a liberally-used tool for the examination of that which troubles us.

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[21] Kristen Elizabeth Poole, 'Garbled Martyrdom in Christopher Marlowe's "The Massacre at Paris"', *Comparative Drama*, 32.1, (1998), 1-25 (p.18). Accessed via <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41153901> [accessed 25 November 2020].

[22] Briggs, 'Marlowe's Massacre at Paris: A Reconsideration', p.274.

Laughter as Medicine

These literary outlets for black humour are also anticipated by the medical and religious framework in which death (and grief) was understood. It is not an unreasonable assumption that sadness and distress were amongst the most common responses to a bereavement, then as now – even if the finer details of those emotions differ substantially. A high mortality rate (including an extremely high infant mortality rate) may well have made bereavement a more familiar experience than perhaps it is to us, but the weight of evidence suggests that it was not desensitising, as has sometimes been suggested.[23] Losses of loved ones were felt keenly and mourned accordingly, but these emotions were experienced within a medical and religious framework that acknowledged the need for laughter and good humour during trying times.

There were good reasons to fear becoming overwhelmed by grief, and these were well-supported in medical discourse. Erin Sullivan's study of the Bills of Mortality – weekly and annual broadsides reporting on births, marriages, and the number and nature of deaths in London – demonstrates a consistent loss of life as a result of 'Griefe', accounting for at least 357 deaths in London and its suburbs from 1629-60.[24] It is worth noting that 'Griefe' may well represent multiple types of hardship and sorrow (ongoing court cases, excommunication, and financial difficulties are all offered as examples of 'grief of mind'), but the loss of a loved one certainly figures amongst these diagnoses. It is also extremely unlikely that these deaths represent euphemistic records for suicide either, since this is well accounted for in records such as 'Hanged themselves', 'Made away with themselves', and 'Made away with themselves willfully', which Sullivan notes represent 283 deaths combined from 1639-1660.[25] The 357 deaths from grief across a 21 year period are modest in comparison to deaths from the biggest killers, like plague or childbirth for example, but it substantially outweighs deaths

[23] See Chapter 2 for a fuller discussion grieving in a period with high mortality rates.
[24] Erin Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy: Sadness and Selfhood in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) p.53. Sullivan notes that the total figure is likely higher, given that a good many Bills from the Civil War years are no longer extant, but nonetheless there is at least one death from grief recorded in every extant annual record from 1629-1818.
[25] Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*, p.53.

by murder (113 deaths), falling sickness (89 deaths) and gout (147 deaths), and indeed, deaths by suicide in the same period. Prolonged grief was not simply troublesome or upsetting, but could be a potentially life threatening condition. These figures are important, given that many epitaphs focus on expressing the deep pain of grief, or valorise tearful excesses. For example, Thomas Dekker's epitaph which recounts Queen Elizabeth's body being brought to Whitehall marvels that the tears of the mourners are so profuse that the 'Bargemen might w*i*th easyer thyghes | haue rowd her thither in her peoples eyes'.[26] This type of prodigious grief is taken as representative of the great love the people held for their queen, and the extent of their sacrifice in giving way to such grief is lent weight by Sullivan's estimate that about 1 in 1,000 might be expected to die of grief, and many more may be taken physically ill, with potentially permanent effects.[27] Giving oneself over to feelings of grief was a means to venerate the dead which potentially came at some personal risk.

While it is not sufficient to fully explain the popularity of black humour in epitaphs, the necessity of facing down death without being overwhelmed offers at least some insight into the popularity of such texts. In real terms, a death by grief might well represent both a tragedy and a medical anomaly that merited further examination. For example, Sullivan discusses at length the horror in court when Elizabeth I's maid of honour, Margaret Radcliffe died following a sorrow that 'grew to an "extreame griefe"', which led to the Queen taking the 'unusual step of calling for an autopsy'. The autopsy concluded that Radcliffe's deep sadness at her brother's death had strained and literally broken her heart.[28] Ben Jonson composed an acrostic poem in her memory, commemorating her 'wit, feature and true passion' and lamenting that 'Earth, thou has not such another'.[29] By contrast though, a

[26] London, British Library (BL), MS Egerton 2877, fol. 16^{v}.
[27] Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*, p. 57. Sullivan discusses the writings of Fynes Moryson, who recalls the terrible effects of losing his brother. Grief causes his body to 'wax old', and he claims that 'I am sure from that day to this I never enjoyed my former health.'
[28] Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*, p.51.
[29] Ben Jonson, 'On Margaret Radcliffe' in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler, Ian Donaldson et. al., 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), V, p.130.

similar instance of tragic death appears in one of the posthumous additions to Camden's *Remaines* as an example of comedy. It reads:

> Upon two Lovers who being espoused, dyed both before they were married.
>
> She first deceas'd, he for a little tryed
>
> To live without her, lik'd it not, then dyed.[30]

The poem is popular in manuscript (often attributed to Sir Henry Wotton), and there are numerous variants in which the couple are married (for example, British Library Add. MS 30982, fol. 37^{r}) or where it is the wife who initially survives (as per Rosenbach Museum & Library, MS 240/7, p.36). The brevity of the epitaph offers an epigrammatic quality which helps to pave the way for humour, but the use of the epitaph genre here remains instructive - an event that was regarded as a tragedy is treated as a potential source of levity in these texts, denying the power of grief to overcome and consume the body through laughter.

Laughter was in fact one of the remedies prescribed for persistent fits of melancholy and grief that risked the patient's health. The passion of grief could potentially be overcome by other, more healthful passions such as joy, and so raising the spirits with rousing music, going on country walks, and engaging in lively debate with friends were all recommended as good practice. The sickness of melancholy was commonly treated with more physical means, like blood-letting and purges to restore humoral balance, but 'pleasant company, dancing, singing and drinking wine' were recommended as means to produce 'joy and mirth, which always benefitted health.'[31] The humoral body was a finely balanced machine in a constant state of flux, and at constant risk of instability as bodily fluids changed from one into another. Laughter, with its ability to cause physical agitation, was thought to assist in moving the humours smoothly through the body, and therefore to help with the

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[30] William Camden, *Remaines Concerning Britaine*, (London: Thomas Harper for John Waterson, 1636), p. 414, sig. Ggg3^{v}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 4551. Accessed via <https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-99857279e> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[31] Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*, pp. 22-8.

internal balance of these fluids.[32] Other interpretations of the humoral body suggest that the medicinal action of laughter works by attracting air to the blood, making way for sanguine humour, and 'dissolving choler and madness producing melancholy'.[33] Such ability to make jokes, Anne Lake Prescott argues, has the potential to confer on the speaker this association with balance and order.[34] Perhaps the most comprehensive of early modern discussions of melancholy, Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, tells us that there is 'Nothing better then mirth, and merry company in this malady, *It beginnes with sorrow (*saith *Montanus) it must bee expelled with hilarity*' and suggests that 'jests and merriments' are particularly helpful.[35]

Sometimes this tension is placed in direct contrast by epitaph collectors. The compiler of BL MS Egerton 2877 places two epitaphs for Queen Elizabeth side by side in two columns. The Dekker poem discussed above, which remarks upon the overwhelming flow of tears as the Queen's body was brought to Whitehall, is placed directly after a short, pithy verse 'made vpon her Remooue being dead', which remarks:

> The Queen's remou'de in solemne sort
>
> yet this was strange & seldome seene
>
> the Queene vsed to remooue the Court
>
> but now the Court remou'de the Queene.[36]

No deference, respect, or comments on the late Queen's virtues are offered here – the excessive outpouring of grief in the neighbouring poem is instead punctured by its bleakly humorous textual companion.

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[32] Indira Ghose, *Shakespeare and Laughter: A Cultural History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 53-4.
[33] Anne Lake Prescott, 'Satire and Polemic', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. by Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 238-9.
[34] Lake Prescott, 'Satire and Polemic', pp. 238-9.
[35] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: Jon Lichfield and James Short, for Henry Cripps, 1621), pp. 378-9, sigs. Aa6^{v}-Aa7^{r}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 4159. Accessed via <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99857427e> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[36] BL, MS Egerton 2877, fol. 16^{v}.

As has been noted above, grief is a potential killer, but the far greater risk to most early modern European populations was plague, and laughter also plays a medicinal role in staving off misfortune and death in this sense too. Bartholomaeus of Montagnana's *Consilia* (1499) recommends that 'delightful stories may be useful to someone in convalescence since they can expand the spirits and move bodily matter and act as a remedy'; more specifically, he recommends '[…] in particular those that lead people to laughter'.[37] This type of medical advice makes an extravagant appearance in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, in which a group of people attempt to fend off the advancing plague through indulgence in what Shona Kelly Wray calls 'excessive drinking, feasting and merrymaking'. She describes this as 'Boccaccio's twist to the common advice on the beneficial nature of cheerfulness', in which 'laughter and jollity are medicine in his exaggerated version [of common medical advice]'.[38] Storytelling and good humour are the prophylactic used by Boccaccio's young men and women to avoid being overwhelmed by the physical and emotional effects of plague. A comparable insistence on humour in the face of disease is by no means particularly common in epitaphs, but it does make an occasional appearance. Most noteworthy is likely Richard Corbett's epitaph on 'Mr Bridgeman', remarkable for its respectful tone, yet humorous take on the symptoms of what is presumably, smallpox or similar. The epitaph reads:

> One Pitt containes him now who could not die
>
> Before a thousand Pitts in him did lie
>
> See many spotts vpon his flesh were showne
>
> Cause on his soule sin fastened all most none.[39]

[37] Bartolomaeus da Montagnana, *Consilia Magistri Batholomei Montagnane* (Venice: Simon de Luere, 1499), as cited in Martin Marafioti, *Storytelling as Plague Prevention in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: The Decameron Tradition* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p.18.
[38] Shona Kelly Wray, 'Boccaccio and the doctors: medicine and compassion in the face of plague', *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), 301-322 (p. 309). Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jmedhist.2004.06.005> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[39] London, British Library (BL), Additional MS 30982, fol. 35ʳ.

The praise of Mr Bridgeman's near-spotless soul comes as part of a pun which conflates the 'pitt' of a grave with the pitted appearance of pockmarked skin, as well as the spots of disease, with the 'spots' of sin, making the traditional praise of an epitaph read rather like a punchline. The sensation of loss at the death of a good man by contagious disease is therefore mitigated through the use of humour, made at the expense of the disease and its fundamental inability to puncture the soul. Good humour and grief can, and do, sit alongside one another respectfully in this context.

Religious Perspectives on Humour

The medical discourse surrounding the nature of laughter as a medicine for grief and physical infirmity makes humour in epitaphs much more understandable, given their traditional role in negotiating loss. However, laughter and grief sit alongside each other in slightly different, and slightly more uncomfortable ways in the context of Protestant theology. Medical discourse does not, of course, exist in a vacuum where it is clearly demarcated as distinct and separate from religious discourse of the period. The inner workings of man are a creation of God, and medicine does not typically work to directly contradict religious practices. Disease is after all often regarded as a direct product of sin, either original or actual, and the soul as well as the body may require healing.[40] As such, the church plays an important role in tending to the sick, complicating matters of diagnosis - the context in which bodily symptoms are interpreted might have a substantial effect on the subsequent diagnosis and treatment. Where a scholarly man who presents to a doctor with listlessness, fear, and sadness may be diagnosed with and treated for melancholy, a similarly affected devout parishioner appearing before a member of the clergy might just as easily be described as being deeply affected by godly sorrow, overcome by sadness at man's fallen and corrupted state in the face of God's purity and mercy.[41] This type of sorrow demands spiritual guidance, not medical attention, and with the right kind of devotion has the potential to lead the faithful into a closer understanding of Christ's suffering and God's grace. Erin Sullivan explains that 'A heart broken down

[40] Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*, p.43.
[41] Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*, p.18.

from sorrow for sin […] was a heart ready to be filled and enlivened with the grace of God'.[42] Godly sorrow should not go unguided – it still risked developing into the substantial danger of despair (in which one entirely loses hope of salvation or grace), but profound grief and sorrow still have the potential to act as a substantially more positive force in this context than in a medical setting, and do not necessarily require abatement with humour.

Alec Ryrie's substantial study of the quotidian experience of 'Being Protestant' in this period offers a careful and detailed examination of the range of the Protestant emotional palette which includes expressions of tranquillity, joy, and peace, but the chapter headings remain tellingly bleak – the Protestant emotions are discussed according to 'Cultivating the Affections', 'Despair and Salvation', and 'The Meaning of Mourning', before finally resting on 'Desire' and 'Joy'. Ryrie does substantial work here to dispel myths about Protestant emotions being restricted to feelings closely associated with the modern sense of 'misery'. He teases out of 'Despair' and 'Mourning' the intense longing for salvation and the feelings of accomplishment at nurturing these emotions, as well as the experience of spiritual growth that the faithful always hoped to receive. However, even the chapter on 'Joy' is deeply tinged with the intense pain of joy's often fleeting nature.[43] Protestantism is a doctrine inescapably connected with despair, grief, and sorrow. Even in his meticulous reconsideration of the value of these seemingly negative emotions, Ryrie concedes, 'it is hard to credit the energy which early Protestants put into examining, and condemning themselves for their innumerable sins. It changed the language: the word "mourning" came to apply primarily to bewailing your own sins, and only secondarily to lamenting the dead.'[44] Even the chapter on 'Joy' is prefaced by the caveat, 'Even if we accept that early modern Protestantism embraced the emotions, to suggest that it was joyful may stretch credibility'.[45] Protestantism is not just accepting of painful emotions, but is one which centres them as part of following the faith.

[42] Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*, p.128.
[43] Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
[44] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 50.
[45] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p.77.

Laughter itself is contested in this ideology, and Ryrie draws attention to Lewis Bayly's *The practise of pietie*, which cautions that it is better 'to goe sickly (with Lazarus) to Heauen, than full of mirth and pleasure, with Diues, to Hell', and Nicholas Bownde, who notes that godless merriness is characterised by falling 'into an immoderate profusion and laughter', while the godly express their joy in the singing of Psalms.[46] In her cultural history of laughter, Indira Ghose discusses the problems of integrating mirth into Puritan ideology, and discusses the 'strand of Christianity hostile to laughter', and how 'the trump card in the hands of the anti-laughter faction was the assertion that Christ never laughed [...] usually attributed to the Church Father Chrysostom'.[47] If one is to model one's life on Christ's, then it is a life in which laughter holds no noteworthy place, except to be cautioned against, as in Luke 6.21, where Christ admonishes, 'Blessed are ye that weep now', for in the kingdom of heaven, 'ye shall laugh'.[48] Nonetheless, while the Bible offers several such admonishments against laughter, it also offers merriness as essential to good health, as in Proverbs 17.22, 'A merry heart doeth good like a medicine: but a broken spirit drieth the bones'.[49] The Puritan cleric, William Whateley, was forced to concede that laughter is 'a power of Gods creating, and holesome to the body, and therefore lawfull', but while it is lawful 'harmlessly to moue laughter by words [...] one must not giue himselfe to it, and make it his occupation for an houre or two together'.[50] Laughter is permissible if it is not excessive, and if it does not serve ill ends. So how then, to understand comical epitaphs in the context of Protestant doctrine and emotions? While it tends to prioritise the expression of spiritual joy rather than worldly mirth, Protestant discourse is not necessarily at odds with humour or laughter as a necessary part of man's humanity – Ghose describes recreation as a 'human exigency', wherein 'By his creation of humankind, God implicitly condoned

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[46] Lewis Bayly, *The practise of pietie* (1620) and Nicholas Bownde, *The Doctrine of the Sabbath, Plainely layde forth, and soundly proued* (1595) as cited in Ryrie, *Being Protestant,* pp. 78-9.
[47] Ghose, *Shakespeare and Laughter: A Cultural History*, pp. 128-9.
[48]The Bible (King James Version), Luke 6.21. (London: Eyre and Spottiswood). All subsequent quotations from the Bible are from this edition.
[49] Proverbs 17.22.
[50] William Whately, *The Redemption of time* (London: T.E. for Thomas Man, 1606) p.23, sig B5^{r}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 25318. Accessed via JISC Historical Texts <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99837939e> [accessed 25 November 2020].

our need for recreation [...] Laughter was a sign of our fallen state, but also a mark of our unique position in God's creation'.[51] This is not to say that comical epitaphs are a particularly Protestant exercise by nature, but that black humour is not necessarily at direct odds with faith. It certainly didn't prevent Richard Corbett, a Protestant who went on to become a Bishop in the Church of England, from composing the amusing epitaph for Mr Bridgeman.

Quite aside from the explicitly comical epitaphs, it is noteworthy that Protestant doctrine somewhat alters the emotional timbre of certain epitaphs in this period to favour more positive emotional responses to death. Thomas Becon's influential *ars moriendi* text, *The Sycke Mans Salue* recommends that 'at the burials of the faithfull, there shuld rather be ioy & gladnes, then mourning and sadnes [...] Let the infideles mourn for their dead: the Christians ought to reioyse, whan any of the faithfull be called from this vale of misery vnto the glorious kyngdome of God', before listing off a comprehensive catalogue of Biblical evidence that 'Such as die in the Lord, are not to be mourned, but God is rather to be thancked for their Christen departure'.[52] In this vein, Sir Walter Raleigh writes to Sir Robert Cecil, on the death of Cecil's wife to advise:

> It is true that you have lost a good and virtuous wife and myself an honourable friend and kinswoman; but there was a time when she was unknown to you, for whom you then lamented not, she is now no more yours nor of your acquaintance but immortal and not needing or knowing your love or sorrow. Therefore you shall but grieve for that which now is as then it was when not yours, only bettered by the difference in this that she hath passed the wearisome journey of this dark world and hath possession of her inheritance [...] Sorrows draw not the dead to life butt the livinge to death.[53]

[51] Ghose, *Shakespeare and Laughter: A Cultural History*, p. 135.
[52] Thomas Becon, *The Sycke Mans Salue* (London: John Day, 1561) pp. 151-4 sigs Liiii^{r}-Lv^{v}, *STC* (2nd ed.) 1757. Accessed via JISC Historical Texts <https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-99849879e> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[53] Sir Walter Raleigh, *Letter from Sir Walter Ralegh to Sir Robert Cecil, The Marquess of Salisbury*, Jan 24, 1596-7. Hatfield, Hatfield House Archive, Cecil MS 37/97, fol. 2^{r}. Accessed via <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1858028879> [accessed 25 November 2020].

The articles of religion denying the existence of purgatory and the need to pray for a speedy exit from this liminal space are substantively accountable for such responses to death, and certainly bring about a change in the tone of epitaphs towards something more celebratory. Joshua Scodel identifies that the immediate experience of heaven (or indeed, hell) after death was a somewhat contested tenet of faith – Calvin argues that the soul enters a period of waiting before the Last Judgement at resurrection, yet Scodel argues that the older, more Catholic belief that the soul moved directly to heaven, hell, or purgatory after death was much more pervasive, with some Calvinist ministers directly disputing Calvin's interpretation of scripture on this point.[54] This doctrine takes epitaphs on a notably more joyful turn, with epitaphs like 'When I in Court had spent my tender prime' – discussed at greater length in Chapter 2 – offering us an epitaph from the perspective of the recently-dead, telling us that he is glad to have died as he is now enjoying more time in heaven. It is not only the living who are called upon to face death with 'ioy & gladnes' but also the dead, who are represented as overjoyed to have found themselves in heaven.

It would be a misrepresentation to regard early modern Protestant doctrine as a cohesive ideology, given the number of contentious doctrinal issues that were regularly disputed amongst theologians of the time. However, even in this brief summary of the religious perspectives on humour, a general picture emerges in which laughter has a restricted, but valued place as both a spiritual balm, and an ideal response to bereavement. Even if laughter in the face of death is not specifically advocated for, the faithful Protestant should at least be prepared to confront death with a sense of joy and anticipation – rejoicing that the deceased is now to be found with God, and showing eagerness at the prospect of their own salvation.

[54] Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp 80-81.

II: What is it to Laugh?

There is a clear logic for laughing at death evidenced in the literary, medical, and religious historical record, where laughter can be a means to approach difficult social issues, a tonic against sickness, and a way to confront (potentially dangerously excessive) grief. What this does not tell us is the forms which such jokes may take, and what understandings of humour underpin that impulse towards laughter – these are better understood within a more philosophical framework that attempts to rationalise the human predilection for humour. The following section approaches these 'theories of humour' as a means to distinguish the terms on which humorous epitaphs operate, and what they can demonstrate about the uses which humour is put to by early modern verse collectors.

Famously, Aristotle claimed that 'no animal but man ever laughs'.[55] Whether or not it is true that other animals cannot laugh, what Aristotle establishes for our purposes is that laughter has long been regarded as a defining feature of humankind, and it is an aspect of our humanity that we share with our ancestors far into recorded history. However, as any editor of early modern texts can tell you, humour does not always translate well through the passage of time. While humour and the readiness to laugh are a longstanding set of shared characteristics, the essential premise of what makes a joke funny is usually deeply embedded in the cultural, linguistic, and social fabric of its time. It is fundamentally challenging to retrospectively establish what is and is not intended to be funny, requiring a framework by which to understand how the humour is permitted to operate. Wittgenstein offers the following analogy for the differences in sense of humour, which is particularly helpful in explaining the requirement to establish this 'framework' for humour:

[55] Aristotle, 'De Partibus Animalium', in *The Works of Aristotle*, trans. by William Ogle, ed. by William David Ross and John Alexander Smith, 12 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), V, Book III. 10. 673a, line 27.

> It is as though there were a custom amongst certain people to throw someone a ball, which he is supposed to catch & throw back; but certain people might not throw it back, but put it in their pocket instead.[56]

Not only must the participants be aware of the rules of the game, but they must also recognise that a game is even taking place, and signal their receptivity to taking part. We, as intruders of sorts into early modern humour, are required not only to catch and throw the ball back, but to notice when a ball is in play in the first place.

Furthermore, even accounting for changes in sense of humour across cultural and temporal space, the mechanism by which we are made to laugh is the subject of substantial debate within philosophical, psychological, and anthropological communities. Approaching the issue from a psychological perspective, Avner Ziv claimed in 1986 that, 'Nearly 30 years ago, no less than 80 definitions [of humour] were put forth in the professional literature (Bergler, 1956) and since then about another 30 have been added'.[57] Lidia Dina Sciama works to disentangle this morass of theories in her introduction to *Humour, Comedy and Laughter: Obscenities, Paradoxes, Insights and the Renewal of Life* by establishing the anthropological background to humour, and its deeply socially contingent features, leading to a rationale for humour that leaves room for substantial variation in the experience and expression of mirth between cultures.

In terms of philosophy, theories of humour are still numerous, but can be divided a little more manageably into three main categories. John Morreall describes these as:

- 'the Superiority Theory', a theory of humour which relies upon feelings of superiority over another – usually by highlighting their folly. This was the dominant theory of humour until the eighteenth century;

[56] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Culture and Value: A Selection from the Posthumous Remains* ed. by Georg Henrik Von Wright, Heikki Nyman and Alois Pitcher, trans. by Peter Winch (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1998), MS 138 32b: 20.5.1949, p.95e.
[57] Avner Ziv, in *Jewish Humour*, ed. by Avner Ziv (London: Transaction Publishers, 1998), p.6.

- the 'Incongruity Theory', in which humour is produced in response to feelings of incongruity between what we expect, and what the joke actually delivers;
- and lastly, the 'Relief Theory', rooted in Freudian psychoanalysis. According to this theory, laughter is thought to be produced as a means to release pent-up nervous energy.[58]

As Morreall is keen to establish, these theories of humour do not represent 'a name adopted by a group of thinkers consciously participating in a tradition', but they are broad means by which to divide the way in which laughter is thought to originate.[59] Indeed, certain humorous expressions may fit either one or many of these categories all at once, and they are best regarded as overlapping rather than distinctive ways in which to categorise the experience of humour. While the 'relief theory' of humour is not contemporary with the epitaphs at hand, each of these theories of humour still provides a useful lens through which to view manuscript epitaphs. Each asks us to look closely at a different set of underlying cultural assumptions on which the humour is established – why in each case, the ball is thrown back, and not pocketed. The remainder of this chapter will consider each of these theories in turn, addressing their role in understanding the tradition of black humour in epitaphs as they appear in manuscripts.

Superiority Theory of Humour

The first of the theories of humour to be addressed, the 'Superiority Theory' of humour, relies on the principle that the follies, misfortunes, and infirmities of others will arouse laughter (at least, when presented in the right way), and has its origins as a theoretical framework in classical philosophy. Plato regarded any excess of emotion as unseemly, claiming that:

> men must be restrained from untimely laughter and tears, and every individual, as well as the whole State, must charge every man to try to

[58] John Morreall, *Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humour* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 4-23.
[59] Morreall, *Comic Relief*, p.6.

> conceal all show of extreme joy or sorrow, and to behave himself seemly, alike in good fortune and in evil.[60]

While profuse shows of emotion are to be generally avoided, Plato treats laughter as particularly suspect, since the feelings of mirth arise from the misfortunes of others, making laughter an ultimately cruel enterprise.[61] Although comedies should still be shown to the populace in order to better understand its opposite, the serious, partaking in comedy is described as best left to 'slaves and foreign hirelings', with 'no serious attention [...] paid to it'.[62] Aristotle takes a more permissive view of humour, acknowledging that 'relaxation and amusement seem to be a necessary element in life', while still cautious that laughter comes as a result of scorn, and as such, 'a man will draw the line at some jokes; for raillery is a sort of vilification, and some forms of vilification are forbidden by law; perhaps some forms of raillery ought to be prohibited also'.[63] Laughter is regarded as some sort of necessity, not an admirable pursuit.

This dim view of humour persists in early modern discourse on comedy, with Thomas Wilson describing 'the occasion of laughter' as 'the fondnes, the filth nes [sic.], the deformitee, and all suche euill behauior as we se to bee in other' in his influential *Art of Rhetoric*.[64] Philip Sidney's *An Apology for Poetrie* describes comedy along similar lines, describing 'the Comick, whom naughtie Play-makers and Stage-keepers, have iustly made odious'. Sidney claims that:

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[60] Plato, 'Laws' in *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, trans. by R.G. Bury 12 Vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1968), X & XI, 5.732c. Accessed via Perseus Digital Library, <http://data.perseus.org/texts/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0059.tlg034.perseus-eng1> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[61] Plato, 'Philebus' in *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, trans. by Harold N. Fowler, 12 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), IX, 48a-50a. Accessed via Perseus Digital Library, <http://data.perseus.org/texts/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0059.tlg010.perseus-eng1> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[62] Plato, 'Laws', 7.816 d-e.
[63] Aristotle 'Nicomachean Ethics' in *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, trans. by H. Rackham, 23 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934). XIX, 4.8.9. Accessed via Perseus Digital Library, <http://data.perseus.org/texts/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0086.tlg010.perseus-eng1> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[64] Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London: Richardus Graftonus, 1553), fol. 74^{v}, sig. T2^{v}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 25799. Accessed via <https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-99847025e> [accessed 25 November 2020].

> Comedy is an imitation of the common errors of our life, which he representeth, in the most ridiculous & scornful sort that may be. So as it is impossible, that any beholder can be content to be such a one.[65]

Though comedy is described here as 'justly made odious' and known for 'abuse', Sidney, like Plato, is keen to offer its merits as a means of social improvement. Just as Plato claims that 'it is impossible to learn the serious without the comic, or any one of a pair of contraries without the other', so Sidney explains that:

> in Geometry, the oblique must bee knowne as wel as the right: and in Arithmetick the odde aswell as the euen, so in the actions of our life, who seeth not the filthines of euil, wanteth a great foile to perceiue the beauty of vertue.[66]

Where we are ignorant of our baser inclinations and follies, humour can be used to make ourselves realise the ways in which we are subject to the scorn of others. Indeed, amongst those where 'the sack of his owne faults, lye so behinde hys back, that he seeth not himselfe daunce the same measure', Sidney states that 'nothing can more open his eyes, then to finde his own actions contemptibly set forth'.[67] Humour is scornful and it is cruel, but it also serves a crucial purpose in regulating our more embarrassing and shameful behaviours.

This brand of vicious humour is certainly in evidence in jests of the period. The *Mery Tales Wittie Questions and Quicke Answeres* offers just over a hundred witty stories, the humour in many of which being entirely reliant upon the intellectual failings of the protagonists. For example, the tale of 'the astronomer that fell in a ditche' reads:

> Laertius wryteth that Thales Milesius wente out of his house vppon a tyme, to behold the sterres for a certain cause, and so long he went backeward, that he fell plumbe into a ditche ouer the eares. Wherfore an olde woman

[65] Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (London: James Roberts for Henry Olney, 1595), sig. f3^{r}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 22534. Accessed via <https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-99846470e> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[66] Plato, 'Laws', 7.816 d-e; Sidney, *An Apology for Poetrie*, sig. f3^{v}.
[67] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetrie*, sig. f3^{v}.

> that he kept in his house, laughed and sayed to him in derisio*n,* O Thales, how shoudlest [sic.] thou haue knowlage in heue*n*ly thynges aboue, & knowest not what is here beneth vnder thy feete?[68]

The comedy in this little tale is derived from the folly of the 'booksmart' astronomer who for all his learning, does not possess the presence of mind to avoid falling upside down into a ditch – we can easily feel superior to the daft astronomer. The 'superiority' aspect of the humour is emphasised within the tale itself by the presence of the old woman, who overtly claims her superiority over the astronomer by describing his folly in full – even the little old lady who is employed around the house recognises that this learned man is not capable of taking care of himself.

The very first story in the *Mery Tales* follows a similar theme, where a supposedly greater individual evidences his folly in front of a servant. A man rides out of London with a servant following on foot, 'whiche came so nere that the hors strake hym a great stroke, vpon the thye'. Seeking revenge upon the distempered horse, the servant throws a stone at it, but misses, and hits his master. When the master notices that his servant is lagging behind and chides him for 'haltyng so farre behynd', the following exchange takes place between the two men:

> The seruaunt answered, Syr, your horse hath geue*n* me suche a stroke vpon my thygh, that I can goe no faster. Trely sayd his maister, the horse is a greate kickar, for lykewise with his heele ryght now he gaue me a greate stroke vpon the raynes of my backe.[69]

The reader and the servant are of course privy to the richer man's folly, who remains oblivious to the deception, leading to a sense of knowing superiority in the reader.

Many of the comical epitaphs to be found in manuscript rely on similar structures for their humour. The comical epitaphs for (often, presumably fictional) tradesmen discussed in Chapter 2 are a good

[68] *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions, and Quicke Answeres* (London: H. Wykes, 1567), sigs. B5^{r-v}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 23665.5. Accessed via <https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-ocm72803119e> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[69] *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions, and Quicke Answeres*, sig. A1^{r}.

example of the way in which the superiority theory of humour is played out in epitaphs. In these texts, the experience of death is trivialised to an otherwise everyday occurrence in daily working life, while also usually highlighting the unreasonable nature of death itself. The irony of the contrast between the men's means of living and the means of their deaths is brought together in a comical, yet sad commentary on the fact that no degree of expertise is sufficient to escape death. These epitaphs largely rely on a sense of superiority for the humour to function, though this sense of superiority is often derived from multiple sources. All these epitaphs are dependant to some degree on social class for their humour, with all the subjects being tradesmen, and of a lower social class than the kind of person who is likely to have the education and access to the social circles required to collect these texts.

While the social class of the tradesmen paves the way for the humour, the jokes themselves are focused on the frailty and folly of the tradesmen in order to raise laughter. One popular example reads:

> On a locksmith
>
> A zealous Locksmith died of late
>
> Who is by this at heauen gate
>
> The reason why he will not knocke
>
> Is that hee meanes to picke the locke [70]

There are two main ways to interpret the humour of this statement. It is heavily implied that the locksmith is entitled to enter heaven, since he has made it all the way to the gate and has a reasonable expectation of knocking at the gate, but he has not availed himself of heaven's joys simply because instead he wishes to pick the lock. We can laugh at the locksmith's folly here knowing that in his position, we would simply knock at the door. The epitaph is also sometimes given a more religious

[70] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 7^{r}. Over 20 individual versions of this poem are recorded in the 'Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse', accessed via <http://firstlines.folger.edu/>, [accessed 25 November 2020].

bent in both print and manuscript, referring to the locksmith in the title as a 'Puritanical' locksmith, making his 'zealous' nature more closely related to religious zeal than an obsessive enthusiasm for his profession. A similar epitaph for a bellows mender focuses on the way in which the experience of dying, rather than the afterlife, are tied to a craftsman's profession. The man who has spent his life mending bellows finds that 'for all that he coolde not scape deathe | ffor he that made bellowes coolde not make ^breathe^', and is unable to use his expertise to save himself.[71] While still funny, these epitaphs have a somewhat darker tone to their humour. John Goddarde the bellows mender has incredible expertise in mending bellows, but in his human frailty, is unable to use this knowledge to save himself from death. The humour comes partially as a result of the frailty and folly of these men even when presented with their areas of expertise, but it is a bleak and self-defeating kind of humour. We may indeed feel superior to the industrious locksmith or the bellows mender who cannot save himself, but it is death who triumphs in each of these cases. The reader is reminded that it is death that laughs at us – bettering each of us at our own skills – and that we will ultimately each take our turn at becoming the butt of one of his jokes.

While laughing at one's supposed inferiors is a reasonably common approach to superiority humour, humour of this kind does not always 'punch down', and may rely instead on producing feelings of superiority over those of high social status. Epitaphs like this are usually libellous in nature (though of course, not all libels are funny – see Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of libellous epitaphs more broadly). Producing a libel in the form of an epitaph adds a particularly cruel sting to the accusations of less-than ideal behaviour, implying that where usually an epitaph is reserved for the greatest deeds of an individual, the deceased is more fittingly commemorated by their misdemeanours. The first of these is a libel that not only takes control of the narrative of the subject's life, but also his subsequent legacy:

> Take S and R: from his surname who here doth lie

[71] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 91^{v}.

the idoll of his hart yo^{u} quickly then willl spie

he vnto none did good, vnto him self was worst

which sordide made his lif his death was more accurst

for nothing then ~~did~~ ^he^ gaue, left all his gathr'd pence

to wiff, a daughter match't with one of great expence

sone died his wiff whom liuing he had kept so straight

that now to haue so much, the ioye oue[r]came her hart

his sonne in lawe who at the Court did most comerse

niente, vp & downe his Crounes of gold sone to disperse

but they with their pale looks did him so much dismay

as they of late haue tooke his senses cleane away.[72]

With no other entries on the Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse, this epitaph is quite possibly an original composition of the manuscript compiler, with a marginal note identifying the subject as 'Si^{r} Io*hn* Spencer'.

This is most likely the Sir John Spencer (d.1610) who was Mayor of London from 1594-5. In spite of his fantastical wealth and well-appointed estates, other libels on Spencer identify him as a miserly figure 'who laid out by the dram & laid vp by the pound', including an example found in this same manuscript.[73] Fortune-hunting suitors soon took interest in his daughter Elizabeth, and although Spencer allegedly opposed a proposed match between her and the heavily-indebted William Compton, Lord Compton, the marriage went ahead in 1599 and the two men remained at odds. When Spencer died in 1610, (with his wife, Alice, following a few weeks later) the scandal really gained momentum. Sir John was found to have died intestate, with the entirety of his fortune falling to his profligate son-in-law. Lord Compton responded to this windfall by spending the new-found cash at

[72] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Additional 9221, fol. 101^{r}.
[73] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 99^{v}.

court, before falling into madness and being taken to the Tower.[74] Accusations that Compton had suppressed Spencer's will (and any charitable bequests he may have made) quickly surfaced, but remained unproven, and were not enough to dispel Spencer's reputation as an uncharitable miser. Beginning with a witty pun on Spencer's name, the epitaph goes on to detail the entirety of Spencer's sad end. Where an epitaph would usually attempt to recognise the ways in which the virtues of the deceased have ensured a morally upstanding legacy for generations to come, this libellous epitaph denigrates not just Spencer himself, but many of his living relatives. The reader may never experience the same kind of wealth and social status as Spencer enjoyed, but he is clearly being framed as foolish in a way that places the reader in an easily maintained position of superiority over the miserly man who (according to this writer) has destroyed his family's legacy through his own (easily avoidable) shortcomings.

Comical libels for Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London are also noteworthy in the way that they characterise his greatest scandal as both epitaph-worthy, and as having ongoing consequences that persist after death. In 1595, Fletcher married Lady Mary Baker having recently been appointed Bishop of London, and died shortly after. One of the tamer examples of libellous epitaphs on Fletcher reads:

> Here lyes the first *tha*^{t} gaue England to see
>
> A Byshop marry (to) a Ladyes Lady
>
> the cause of his death was secret & hid
>
> he cryed oh I dy & soe he did.[75]

Queen Elizabeth had warned Fletcher not to marry Baker – not only was she scarcely tolerant of marriage in the clergy under the best of circumstances, but Baker was recently widowed, and was

[74] Ian W. Archer, "Spencer, Sir John (d. 1610), merchant and lord mayor of London" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008). Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26130> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[75] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 57^{r}.

somewhat notorious with court gossips.[76] The marriage resulted in Fletcher's suspension from his bishopric for several months, and he died within the year. The marriage was regarded as one of lust, with other libels taking a particularly lewd turn in representing the bishop as 'of Lust the hart, of Pride the face' having 'bought a whore'.[77] As with the Spencer epitaph, some of the humour in the Fletcher epitaph comes from simple wordplay with the pun on 'see' (a bishop's see) and see (to witness), but the satisfaction drawn out of this libel comes largely from the sense of superiority it offers. A prominent public character is brought down by highlighting his baser nature, giving the reader an illicit sense of superiority over a senior religious figure. Social ordering is a powerful function of this type of humour – it can punch up or down, but is still quite regulatory in its nature. It brings down those who do not 'deserve' their elevated status and mocks those that have earned their lowly position.

Libels were of course, dangerous to own, and some texts go to considerable trouble to simultaneously hide the subject's identity, and preserve their social status, some so successfully that they resist certain identification in the present day.[78] One such example is an epitaph on 'Lord Lampas' who, according to the title, 'died in *th*^{e} act of venery'. The poem reads:

Here 6 foote deape in his Last Sleepe
The L*or*^{d} Lampas lies
His way he made w*i*th his owne blade
Through his M*ist*^{ris} thies
If through *tha*^{t} hole to heauen he stole
I dare boldly say
He was *th*^{e} last *tha*^{t} *tha*^{t} way past

[76] Gordon McMullan, *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), pp. 9-10.
[77] Steven W. May and Alan Bryson, *Verse libel in Renaissance England and Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 49.
[78] May and Bryson, *Verse libel in Renaissance England and Scotland*, pp. 6-9.

And first *tha*[t] found *tha*[t] way./ [79]

Where quite often such texts will be accompanied by a marginal note offering a hint to the subject's identity (usually an abbreviated name, or set of initials), Lord Lampas is unidentified in each of the copies recorded in the Folger Union First Line Index.[80] Lampas was an expensive, glossy fabric which incorporated complex designs, often made with gold or silver thread.[81] If this libel is to be taken as targeted at a real historical figure rather than a general critique of a certain *type* of individual, then this man is pitched to us as recognisable almost exclusively for his taste in richly textured fabrics alongside his enthusiasm for the 'act of venery' – given the tastes of the Jacobean and Caroline courts, this hardly singles out any one individual! As well as the indignity of being characterised for his love of venery, Lampas is coyly described as being well on his way to hell – if he has indeed found his way to heaven *in flagrante delicto*, then he is the 'first *tha*[t] found *tha*[t] way', giving his actions in life specific posthumous significance. The poet sets the reader up for a straightforward sense of superiority over Lampas' raunchy exit from this life, given the safe assumption that they have never found themselves in Lampas' somewhat embarrassing situation.

A common theme in epitaphs of this kind is the involvement of women as a way to make the reader feel superior to the subjects of the epitaph. The miserly Sir John's wife essentially dies of shock, having suddenly been granted access to her husband's hoarded wealth; Bishop Fletcher dies as a result of his illicit marriage to Lady Mary Baker, the subject of court gossip; and the anonymous Lord Lampas dies during a (presumably illicit) sexual encounter. That it is folly to be involved with such women is well-substantiated by the comical epitaph genre more broadly, with quite a number of poems aimed specifically at targeting the follies of women, especially wives. To be superior is to be male, and more to the point, to be a man who is firmly in control of his wife.

[79] BL, Add. MS 30982 fols. 32[r-v].
[80] 15 versions of this poem are recorded in the 'Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse' (two of which are printed). Accessed via <http://firstlines.folger.edu/>, [accessed 25 November 2020].
[81] Elena Phipps, *Looking at Textiles: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2011), p. 47.

One particularly cutting example details a man showing the 'good opinion he had of his wyfes sowle, who in hir lyfe tyme was a notorious shrewe'. After twenty one years of married life, the shrewish wife dies. Her husband claims that, 'she is gone I knowe not whither', but proceeds to give the most perverse explanation for her route to heaven:

> And sure hir sowle is not in hell
>
> The deuill coolde neare abyde hir
>
> Her Body is bestowed well
>
> This handsome graue doothe holde hir
>
> But I suppose she's soarde alofte
>
> ffor ^in^ <with> the laste greate thunder
>
> Mee thowghte I harde her very voyce
>
> Rendinge the clowdes a sunder.[82]

The shrewish wife is so intolerable that not even the devil will suffer her company, leaving her to wend her own way 'alofte' – if she is not in heaven, she is certainly making her feelings on the matter known. As above, an extra sting is given to this criticism for its placement in an epitaph, since all that is commemorated of this (probably fictional) woman is her bellowing voice and shrewish nature. Our sympathies are largely aligned with that of the relieved husband, with a sense of superiority implied over the nagging and unpleasant woman. To some degree though, we are also expected to feel superior to the beleaguered husband, who has spent the last twenty one years unable to control his wife, being harangued by a woman.[83]

Another popular example of the 'nagging wife' epitaphs 'vpon an vnquiet wife' cautions the reader:

> Here lyes a woman (no man can deny it)

[82] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Additional 57, fol. 93^{v}.
[83] See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the types of social punishments which could be meted out on nagging wives and their husbands.

she dy'd in peace, although she liu'd vnquiet.

Her husband prayes if neere this place yo^{u} walke

Tread softly, for if *tha*^{t} she wa<l>ke she'le talke./ [84]

This epitaph functions in a similar fashion – we are to feel superior to and laugh at both the nagging wife and her long-suffering husband who fears her constant talking even after death. This epitaph also takes a more superstitious approach to the afterlife than the previous example. While the wife has achieved a peaceful death, there is no transition to heaven, but instead her spiritual presence remains in the grave, ready to harrass heavy-footed passers by.[85] These epitaphs rely on maligning the character of their subjects and the legacy they leave behind, but function more like the epitaphs for craftsmen than the libels in the way that they critique a trope, rather than a specific person. Like the libels, these poems are still carefully crafted acts of social regulation which reaffirm, rather than challenge the social order. Where social roles are upset, this leaves the subject the object of ridicule, whether for being an incorrigible nag, or a beleaguered husband.

While the theory of superiority is the predominant model for humour in the early modern period, it is not the only means by which humour is created. A proponent of the superiority theory of humour himself, even Aristotle acknowledges that humour is sometimes derived from other sources, such as wit and wordplay, and it is to these types of humour that I shall turn next.[86]

Incongruity Theory of Humour

Where the superiority theory of humour was the most widely-recognised explanation for humour in early modern English thought, there still exists within classical literature an alternative possibility for illustrating the logic for laughter in those cases where the superiority theory makes little sense. In

[84] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Additional 4138, fol. 52^{v}.
[85] As discussed in Chapter 1, this popular manuscript text even appears on a real gravestone.
[86] Aristotle 'Nicomachean Ethics', 4.8.

Rhetorica, Aristotle describes how an orator may raise a laugh by setting up the audience to expect one thing, and then saying quite another. He explains:

> Most smart sayings are derived from metaphor, and also from misleading the hearer beforehand [...] And what Theodorus calls "novel expressions" arise when what follows is paradoxical, and, as he puts it, not in accordance with our previous expectation; just as humorists make use of slight changes in words. The same effect is produced by jokes that turn on a change of letter; for they are deceptive. These novelties occur in poetry as well as in prose; for instance, the following verse does not finish as the hearer expected: "And he strode on, under his feet—chilblains," whereas the hearer thought he was going to say "sandals." This kind of joke must be clear from the moment of utterance. Jokes that turn on the word are produced, not by giving it the proper meaning, but by perverting it [87]

Similarly, in *De Oratore*, Cicero tells us that, 'the most common kind of joke, [is] when we expect one thing and another is said; in which case our own disappointed expectation makes us laugh'.[88] Clearly, the unexpected is regarded as a cause for laughter, an idea which Horace distils further when he asks:

> If a painter should wish to unite a horse's neck to a human head, and spread a variety of plumage over limbs [of different animals] taken from every part [of nature], so that what is a beautiful woman in the upper part terminates unsightly in an ugly fish below; could you, my friends, refrain from laughter, were you admitted to such a sight [89]

It is this idea of *incongruity* – the disconnect between expectation and reality as a source for laughter that eventually takes shape as a more fully realised theory of humour in the eighteenth century.

[87] Aristotle, 'Rhetorica' in *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, trans. by J. H. Freese, 23 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), Vol. 22, 3.11.6. Accessed via Perseus Digital Library, <http://data.perseus.org/texts/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0086.tlg038.perseus-eng1> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[88] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *On Oratory and Orators (De Oratore)*, ed. and trans. by J. S. Watson (United States of America: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986), Book II, Chapter 63, p.157.
[89] Horace, 'Ars Poetica' in *The Works of Horace*, trans. C. Smart, revised Theodore Alois Buckley, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863), ll. 1-5. Accessed via Perseus Digital Library, <http://data.perseus.org/texts/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0893.phi006.perseus-eng1> [accessed 25 November 2020].

Philosophers such as Immanuel Kant, James Beattie, and Arthur Schopenhauer began to turn their attention to the way in which the perception of incongruity can precipitate laughter.[90]

The basis for this theory of humour is that most of the time our lives conform to prescribed patterns which are repeated often enough to become expected, and these learned patterns prepare us for future events, whether these are everyday occurrences (water from the cold tap will be cold) or predictions of the behaviour of other humans or animals around us (my dog greets me at the door each day after work). Under certain circumstances the violation of these expectations produces humour. To come home from work to find one's dog inexplicably wearing a party hat is funny – to come home and find one's dog murdered on the lawn is very clearly not. Somewhat unsurprisingly, the precise framework required in order to produce humour rather than fear or disgust remains elusive, leaving this theory of humour with a persuasive, yet frustratingly incomplete take on the human propensity to perversely respond to being proven wrong, or having comforting expectations overturned, by laughing.

While there is something anachronistic about applying the term 'incongruity theory' to early modern humour, it is certainly well-represented in humorous texts of the period. The jest book, *Mery Tales and Quicke Answeres*, offers the following example:

> Of the frier that brayde in his sermon. [...]
>
> A frier that preached to the people on a tyme, woulde otherwhile crye out a loude (as the maner of some fooles is) whiche braying dyd so moue a woman that stode hearying his sermon, that she wepte. He perceyuyng that, thought in his mynde, that hyr conscience, beyng pricked with his woordes, had caused hyr to weepe Wherefore whan his sermon was done, he called the woman to him, and asked what was the cause of hir wepynge, and whether his woordes moued her to weepe or not forsoth mayster (sayd she) I am a poore widowe: and whan myne husbande died, he lefte me but one Asse, whiche got a part of my liuyng: the which Asse the wolues haue slayne: and

[90] Morreall, *Comic Relief*, pp. 10-12.

> now whan I hearde your highe voyce, I remembred my sely asse, for so he was wo*n*te to bray bothe nyght and daye. And this good maister caused me to wepe.[91]

The expected tears of contrition here are actually tears of grief at the loss of an ass, as inspired by the friar's braying, thus subverting the reader's expectations for the scenario. Other stories in the jest book are more lewd, for example, the tale of the 'ielous man', which reads:

> A man that was right ielous on his wyfe, dremed on a night as he laie a bed with hir and slepte, that the dyuell appeared vnto him and sayed: wouldest thou not be glad, that should put the in suertee of thy wyfe? yes saied he. Holde (saied the divell) as longe as thou haste this rynge vpon thy fynger no manne shall make thee cuckolde.
>
> The man was glad therof, and whan he awaked he founde his fynger in his wyues tayle[.][92]

The reader is of course primed to expect a deception of some kind through the involvement of the devil, yet the reveal of the 'ring' as the wife's 'tayle' still represents a risible incongruity. This form of humour is well-represented in early modern comic culture, and like the superiority-based humour above, also makes its way into humorous epitaphs.

The practice of making comical epitaphs can itself be seen as a kind of exercise in writing this type of humour. In their most traditional and visible form – as grave markers – epitaphs deviate from sombre remembrance and veneration of the dead only infrequently. The 'mental map' by which a reader approaches an epitaph charts a course for a text which will be serious and respectful in tone, making comical epitaphs an inherently incongruous venture, quite aside from the tone of the joke made within the epitaph itself. Some epitaphs, however, work specifically to heighten this sense of incongruity as the meat of the joke, offering all the usual 'serious' apparatus of an epitaph only to

[91] *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions, and Quicke Answeres,* sig. C1^{r}.
[92] *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions, and Quicke Answeres* sigs. A7^{v}-A8^{r}.

offer a memorial which does not 'fit' with the tone. One example which broadly fits with the 'occupational' genre of epitaphs offers a pairing of couplets in the context of an epitaph:

> On one Iohn Hall knocked downe w*i*th *th*^{e} clappe of a bell, & supposed dead//
>
> Here lies John Hall, *th*^{e} vniuersitie capp
>
> That liu'd by *th*^{e} bell, & died by *th*^{e} clap
>
> His Answer
>
> Iohn Hall still liues, & *tha*^{t} in hope
>
> To liue by *th*^{e} bell when you die by *th*^{e} rope.//.[93]

The first poem uses a number of established strategies to confirm its status as an epitaph. The phrasing of the title, 'On one Iohn Hall' is a typical way to title an epitaph in manuscript collections, and the title then goes on to give additional context as to how the sexton met his end. The couplet then opens with 'Heere lyes'. This is the clearest signal the writer can offer that what follows will be an epitaph, gesturing both to the presence of a body and an inscription over it. The text that follows is a somewhat irreverent pun which begins to develop the sense of ludicrous incongruity, a sense that will subsequently reach its peak in the second half.

The second title tells us that John Hall has experienced an improbable recovery. Having not just been pronounced dead, but dead for long enough to have been given an epitaph, John is now 'recouered' enough to speak to us directly and malign the reader who had presumed him dead. John survives to make a pair of witty puns; he hopes to 'live by the bell' (continue his occupation, live a holy life), and with the expectation that the gawking reader will 'dye by the Rope' (the bell-pull rope, the hangman's noose). Puns are themselves a form of incongruity humour – the reader's understanding of the word is proven to be wrong, turning the meaning of the statement on its head. Expectation does not meet reality, with humorous results. While the puns themselves are amusing, the (ab)use of the epitaph

[93] New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (BRBML), MS Osborn b356, p. 247.

genre is the primary source of the humour in this epitaph, abruptly contradicting the reader's expectations for the text with a witty turn.

Another absurd epitaph that capitalises on the incongruity of the genre and the subject matter is the wildly popular 'epitaph vpon a fart', a copy of which can be found in BL Add. MS 30982.[94] This quirky poem demands some introduction, since it doesn't always travel alone, and the context of circulation often has substantial impact on the humour of the piece. The epitaph appears in three distinct ways – it is often (though certainly not universally) copied alongside the longer poem known as 'The Parliament Fart', a poem which references a parliamentary debate on the naturalisation of the Scots on 4th March 1607, during which the MP Henry Ludlow released a fart that would echo through manuscript miscellanies for decades to come. The MP and diarist Robert Bowyer records a Parliament consumed with laughter, noting that the fart was produced by "the nether end of the House...whereat the Company laughing the Messenger was almost out of Countenance".[95] 'The Parliament Fart' sees MPs discussing the fart as if it were a motion to be debated in the house, with one couplet offered for each MP. It lent itself to personalisation, with successive compilers improvising new lines in their own copies – various sources range from approximately 40 lines, to over 225.[96]

The epitaph also circulates without 'The Parliament Fart', and continues to function perfectly well as a piece of incongruous humour, even without the accompanying poem. It reads:

> An epitaph vpon a fart
>
> Reader I was borne and cryed
>
> Cracket so, smelt so, & so dyed.

[94] For further discussion of the circulation of this poem in manuscript networks and its significance as a piece of political jesting, see Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Performing Politics: The Circulation of the "Parliament Fart"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69 (2006), 121-138.
[95] Robert Bowyer's diary, as cited in 'The Parliament Fart (1607-)' in "Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources." ed. by Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae. (*Early Modern Literary Studies* Text Series i, 2005). Accessed via <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/parliament_fart_section/C0.html> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[96] 'The Parliament Fart (1607-)' in "Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources".

Like Iulius Ca*e*sar was my death

for hee in Senate lost his breath

And not vnlike in tombe doth lye

The noble Romulus and I

And much a like to Flora faire

I leafte the Common Wealth mine heire.[97]

Farts are not the usual fare for memorialisation in an epitaph, and nor do farts usually share poetic real estate with Julius Caesar, Romulus, and Flora, subverting expectations and drawing comedy from the incongruousness of the juxtaposition between form and content.

Lastly, the epitaph sometimes appears with only the first two lines, 'Reader I was borne and cryed | Cracket so, smelt so, & so dyed'. These lines are a variation on a popular epitaph that appears in Camden's *Remaines Concerning Britain* as one of the droll epitaphs intended to 'recomfort' the reader (though it is not safe to assume that this is intended as a humorous text once it leaves Camden's hands and is copied into a manuscript). The text usually reads something like, 'Here lyeth he who was born and cryed | Told threescore years, fell sick, and dyed', though The Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse records numerous copies of the couplet with a few variations suggesting both popularity and potential personalisation of the text (for example, the subject is recorded at several different ages at their time of death). [98] Each of these modes of circulation offers a different perspective on the way in which the incongruity of the situation, choice of epitaph genre and the content of the text produce humorous responses. The single couplet offers a brief, pithy joke which is heightened by the literary connections to other epitaphs. Not just an incongruously funny epitaph, a big part of the humour here is the association with other quasi-comic epitaphs for those whose defining feature in life was simply the number of years they walked the earth. The humour found in contrasting the subject matter and

[97] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 157^{v}.

[98] Camden, *Remaines Concerning Britain*, (1605), sig. h1^{v}, p.58. A variety of versions of this popular poem can be viewed on the 'Folger Union First Line Index of English Verse'. Accessed via <https://firstlines.folger.edu/search.php?val1=born+and+cried> [accessed 25 November 2020].

the genre is only part of the story, where the transition from one ridiculous text to an *even more* ridiculous text paves the way for laughter.

The longer epitaph gestures towards a more substantial context for the fart in question without really offering enough information for it to make sense to a reader who is not clued-in to the event in parliament in 1607. In a spectacular turn of grotesque, the fart-narrator tells us that it lost its 'breath' while 'in Senate', indicating to the reader even without the longer poem 'The Parliament Fart', that this is no ordinary fart, but one of political significance. The poem demands a willing naïvety, since the reader must be familiar with the joke for the coy allusions to the 1607 parliament sittings to be fully understood, but simultaneously, the reader must be unknowing, and be surprised by the incongruity of the epitaph format used to commemorate a fart for the full force of the humour to have effect.

The pairing of 'The Parliament Fart' and 'An Epitaph Vpon a Fart' produces the richest and most complex sense of incongruity, as each of these poems gains contextual credibility to 'set up' the joke of the incongruity between the epitaph and its subject. There already existed a common literary coupling of a long poem and a brief poem on the same subject for these two poems to map on to – the elegy and the epitaph. Scott Newstok describes how this pairing of poems is something of an early modern 'innovation', wherein the closing years of the sixteenth century see the 'terminal epitaph' become a '*routinized* part of the elegiac tradition' as an act of closure.[99] Viewed independently, 'The Parliament Fart' does not adhere to any elegiac conventions of expressing mourning, grief, or loss, making the abrupt appearance of a closing epitaph incongruous, or simply ludicrous. The epitaph also serves to place a more serious cast over the longer poem with the funereal associations it offers. Instead of providing closure, as is the case with more conventional elegy-epitaph pairings, the terminal epitaph demands that the reader reconsider the light-hearted 'Parliament Fart', and invites the reader

[99] Scott L. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 176-178.

to re-start the reading process with this new funereal context, and a more profound sense of incongruity in mind.

If we are to assume that for some readers, at least, the closing epitaph would render the preceding poem more elegy-like, one may reasonably ask who, or what 'The Parliament Fart' represents an elegy *for*. 'The Parliament Fart' was a fundamentally malleable text which was continually edited and added to in later copies. The editors of the *Early Stuart Libels* project make it clear that where couplets are added to the poem over time, they often remain topical:

> referring to key issues and debates in James's first Parliament: the Union (of England and Scotland), purveyance (the right of the royal household to buy goods at less than market value), impositions (taxes on imported or exported goods levied without the consent of parliament), the authority of the common law, parliamentary liberties, and freedom of speech. Couplets added in subsequent years, meanwhile, address issues from the Overbury scandal to the 1624 monopolies bill.[100]

There is clearly a strong desire for the poem to remain current in spite of the fact that the event which makes for the main subject of the text occurred at a fixed point in time, potentially even decades before the new lines were added. This continuing push for relevance suggests that the intent for this poem was not simply to recount an amusing day in the Commons, but to sustain an up-to-date critique of unpopular parliamentary decision-making. The epitaph serves to present political corruption as a kind of death worthy of mourning, where the precise significance of the death is kept up to date. This parodying of the elegy-epitaph format only goes to take on more profound meaning in its post-Civil War context. The *Early Stuart Libels* database notes that after 1649 the poem elicited additional interpretations, where 'a flatulent Commons could stand for a headless government'.[101] The circumstances that precipitated this 'headless' government – the execution of the king – only serves to emphasise the connection to death discourse which the epitaph suggests.

[100] 'The Parliament Fart (1607-)' in "Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources".
[101] 'The Parliament Fart (1607-)' in "Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources".

This unabashed confrontation between serious matters and a jesting tone is also played out on a more substantial level when manuscript compilers blend these comical epitaphs in amongst more serious texts, using the incongruity of the comical text to redefine the poems it shares space with, producing further humour. The tendency to combine seemingly conflicting texts within the same manuscript is often far from haphazard. Joshua Eckhardt argues that the recombination of poetic texts can be so significant as to produce entirely new meanings for the texts, giving rise to unique generic categories. In particular, he focuses on 'anti-courtly love poetry', that is, a sub-genre of love poetry produced by 'routinely countering or complementing love poetry with erotic or obscene verse'.[102] He goes on to describe how the practice of countering/complementing love poetry and bawdy verse is not simply a high-spirited rejection of courtly love among young men at the universities and Inns of Court (though it can sometimes be just that), but it can also be seen as a deeply politicised practice in which love poetry is re-contextualised to provide a laser-sharp focus on affairs at court, such as the second marriage of Richard Fletcher described above. Eckhardt describes how one manuscript compiler collects libels on the subject of Fletcher's marriage with 'an exchange of obvious riddles on genitals', a juxtaposition that influences the import of both the riddles, and the libels – 'the riddles on genitals emphasize the sexual misconduct alleged in the libels, and the libels in turn apply the sexual content of the erotic poems to the scandalous second marriage of a public figure'.[103] The selection of certain texts and their placements within the manuscript are meaningful choices that have an impact on interpretation.

Anti-courtly love poetry is a particularly fertile ground for this type of commentary, and we can observe similar strategies used in relation to epitaphs in manuscript miscellanies to produce humour of an incongruous sort. Cambridge University Library MS Add. 4138 offers some useful insights into this practice. The manuscript is comprised almost entirely of verse, with three main sections of thematically

[102] Joshua, Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.5.
[103] Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry*, p.26.

connected texts separated from one another by approximately ten blank folios between each section. The manuscript begins with a collection of poetry primarily concerned with King James' 1615 visits to Cambridge University, and the rivalry this encouraged with Oxford. A space of four folios is left before a single page (fol. 23^{r}) is taken up with poetry, and a further four folios remain blank after this (as the only interruption to the otherwise regular structure of the manuscript, the single page of poetry was likely added later). The second major collection is comprised of lyric verse, with a further ten folios left blank before commencing the third and most miscellaneous section, which is comprised primarily of riddles, epitaphs, and libels. 11 more blank pages separate the final two poems copied in the manuscript. There is a recognisable rationale to the way the original compiler organised his manuscript, and despite the miscellaneous character of the third large section, clearly the compiler felt that the assortment of riddles, libels, and epitaphs belonged together.

This strategy of anti-courtly juxtaposition is used by the original compiler in this miscellaneous section in relation to comical epitaphs. A particularly striking example can be found towards the end of the section, where the compiler copies the short comical epitaph 'Vpon an vnquiet wife' discussed above. This epitaph sits firmly in the tradition of superiority humour derived from unorthodox power balances between men and women, but its placement here contributes to a sense of comedy more aligned with the incongruity theory of humour. Immediately following this epitaph are two poems by George Herbert, dedicated 'To *th*^{e} La*dy* Eliz*abeth* Q*ueen* of Bohemia', written during her time in exile. The first poem extolls Elizabeth's virtues as a 'Bright soule' for whom there is no country worthy of her rule, praises her beautiful face which requires 'not dresse or lace, | to set it forth', and emphasises her role as a good wife and monarch having produced many children who shall 'liue to conquer' new kingdoms so that 'the sunn shall neu*er* rise | but it shall spye some of thy victories'.[104] The second, shorter poem similarly counsels that this 'Majestick sowle' should keep patience until 'God will surely drye those teares' by restoring her lands and titles.[105] This panegyric is then bookended by a translation of one of

[104] CUL, MS Add. 4138, fols. 52^{v}-53^{r}.
[105] CUL, MS Add. 4138, fol. 53^{v}.

Ausonius' erotic epigrams, detailing the 'wish't' qualities in a mistress. The mistress must be sexually available, passionate, and erotic – as well as 'in Loues fight for one blow giuing 3' she must be 'faire' and speak 'like a wag', recalling the chatty wife from the epitaph above. The epigram then concludes by explaining that if instead, 'she be modest pure and chast of life', to 'Hang her, shee's good for nothing but a wife'.[106] This bookending of the poems dedicated to Elizabeth of Bohemia produces an unabashed confrontation between serious matters and more playful, lewd, and comical texts. While the comical texts may serve the serious purpose of making Elizabeth seem to rise up out of the common rabble of chatty and promiscuous women, thereby accentuating her praise, the compiler's ordering capitalises on the sense of incongruity between these poems to create a new type of humour out of already comical texts. The serious texts serve to 'set off' the funny ones. Epitaphs perhaps lend themselves to this type of juxtaposition because they refer to a completed life which can now be summed up in its entirety – the subjects of these anti-courtly epitaphs have no further opportunities for redemption, and can be conclusively categorised by the manuscript compiler.

While not as readily acknowledged in early modern critical discourse as the superiority theory of humour, manuscript compilers show a taste for inherently incongruous, funny texts, as well as going so far as to produce this type of humour for themselves in the way in which their collections of texts are presented and ordered. Despite the dearth of contemporary discussion on this theory of humour, it can safely be regarded as at least as integral to the early modern comic landscape as humour derived from feelings of superiority.

Relief Theory of Humour

The incongruity theory of humour presents laughter as an irrational reaction to surprise, but one further popular theory of humour represents humour as a medically rationalised response to fluctuations in emotional state. The relief theory of humour is the most anachronistic of these explanations for humour to be applied to the early modern period, having initially arisen out of

[106] CUL, MS Add. 4138, fol. 53^{v}.

nineteenth century medical discourse on the human nervous system, before being adopted by Freud in his discussion of the unconscious mind. As one might expect, the medical foundations of these theories have long since been discredited, and with them, much of the logic for humour that they supported. Nonetheless, this theory attempts to address some of the shortcomings of the incongruity theory of humour and under certain specific circumstances, this is a theory which is still able to offer some helpful insights into certain comical undertakings of the early modern period.

Early iterations of the relief theory work on the principle that the nervous system of the human body was designed to carry gases and liquids called 'animal spirits', and elevated emotions could cause an excess of pressure in this fundamentally 'hydraulic' system. Excess pressure is released through laughter.[107] In 'The Physiology of Laughter', published in 1860, the polymath Herbert Spencer sought to address the apparent shortcomings of the now-prevailing incongruity theory of humour by explaining our biological impulses for laughter. He asks:

> Why do we smile when a child puts on a man's hat? [...] The usual reply to such questions is, that risibility is excited by a perception of incongruity. Even were there not on this reply the obvious criticism that laughter often occurs from extreme pleasure or from mere vivacity, as among frolicsome children, there would still remain the real problem, - How comes a sense of the incongruous to be followed by these peculiar bodily actions?[108]

Spencer's rationale for laughter is based on the principle that emotions will produce nervous energy in the body, a product which 'always *tends* to beget muscular motion, and when it rises to a certain intensity always does beget it'.[109] That energy will be dispersed by movements in the body most acquainted with those emotions, so nervous energy derived from anger will produce small, threatening physical motions before eventually actual violence is enacted, and nervous energy caused by fear will similarly cause us to flinch or shy away from the object of fear, before eventually running

[107] Morreall, *Comic Relief*, pp. 15-16.
[108] Herbert Spencer, 'The Physiology of Laughter' in *Macmillan's Magazine* (March, 1860), 395-402 (p.395). Accessed via Wellcome Library <https://wellcomelibrary.org/item/b2246797> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[109] Spencer, 'The Physiology of Laughter', pp. 395-6.

away. Laughter is a unique response to nervous energy insofar as it is the precursor to no further action, and serves no independent purpose. Instead, it is the means of release for emotions which are found to be inappropriate, or which have no proper place for expression, venting away nervous energy which can serve no functional purpose.

These early medical explanations look to describe laughter as a response to physical bodily needs, but the relief theory of humour finds its most popular interpretation with the work of Sigmund Freud. Like Spencer, Freud sees laughter as a release of unnecessary energy, but it is of a psychological rather than a physical sort. Freud regards laughter as the release of psychological energy that has been produced to complete a task, but is later found to be unnecessary if that process should be abandoned. He recognises three separate categories of abandoned 'tasks' in which laughter is required to disperse surplus psychological energy that might otherwise cause harm; there is the work of repressing feelings, which is relieved by joking; the energy of thinking is released with the 'comic'; and the energy of feeling emotions is dissipated through humour.[110]

Joking includes not just the telling of comical stories, but also witty repartee, and the laughter diffuses the energy which the unconscious mind would normally expend on repressing feelings which cannot be politely expressed. Freud claims that:

> Where a joke is not an end in itself, i.e. innocuous, it puts itself at the service of two tendencies only, which can themselves be merged into a single viewpoint. It is either a *hostile* joke (used of aggression, satire, defence) or an *obscene* joke (used to strip someone naked [*Entblößung*]).[111]

Jokes are therefore often sexual or hostile, since these are the most commonly repressed feelings. When a joke is told, we over-ride the internal sense of decorum that does not permit us to express sexual or hostile feelings, and laughter results from the energy now no longer required to repress

[110] Morreall, *Comic Relief*, pp. 17-18.
[111] Sigmund Freud, *The Joke and its Relation to the Unconscious*, trans. by Joyce Crick (London: Penguin Books, 2002), p. 96.

those feelings. Jokes which are 'lustful or hostile' allow us to 'satisfy aggressive instincts', letting us experience forbidden feelings repressed by society, and 'economise on the effort that normally inhibits such satisfaction'.[112]

What Freud calls 'comic' is laughter produced in lieu of the energy expended on thinking. Freud uses the example of watching someone stumble around in a clownish way. He claims that when we watch such a display:

> with the perception of a particular movement, there comes an impulse to imagine it by making a certain expenditure [of energy]. That is, when 'trying to understand' this movement […] I make a certain expenditure [of energy], behaving in this part of the psychical process entirely as if I were putting myself in the position of the person I am observing. But, probably, at the same time, I have an eye on what this movement is aiming at, and from past experience I am able to estimate the quantity of expenditure required to attain it. […] If the other person's movement is disproportionate and impracticable, the surplus energy I expend to understand it is inhibited *in statu nascendi*, as it is being mobilised, so to speak, and declared to be superfluous; it is free to be used elsewhere, possibly for release in laughter.[113]

It takes mental energy to rationalise and understand the clown's haphazard actions in the course of completing simple tasks, and laughter takes place to mitigate this surplus psychological energy.

Lastly, 'humour' is a cause for laughter most aligned with the physiological explanations for laughter. In situations where emotions are summoned, yet found to be inappropriate, these emotions must be harmlessly dissipated in some way. Freud offers the story of Mark Twain's brother, who was blown into the sky by dynamite during a work accident. We are expected to engage with feelings of pity, sympathy, or fear for his wellbeing. However:

[112] Freud, *The Joke and its Relation to the Unconscious*, p. 98.
[113] Freud, *The Joke and its Relation to the Unconscious*, p. 189.

> the continuation of the story, in which the brother is docked half a day's pay "for absenting himself from the place of work" diverts us from pity entirely and makes us almost as hard-hearted as that employer, and just as indifferent to the possible damage to the brother's health.[114]

Our sympathy, pity and/or fear are shown to be inappropriate and unnecessary, and are dispersed through laughter at the story.

Clearly, both the physiological and psychological explanations for humour as a pressure valve rely upon understandings of the human body which have been superseded by both more sophisticated understandings of the nervous system, and a more sophisticated model for understanding human psychology. Nonetheless, both theories of humour still exhibit substantial flaws even in the context of contemporary understandings of the human body and mind. For example, the 'hydraulic' model for humour as a function of an over-pressurised nervous system requires the pressure in that system to have built up to an intolerable level, which fails to account for rapid, spontaneous laughter without any apparent 'build-up' to the comic event.

In his examination of the philosophy of humour, John Morreall is equally critical of Freud's theories for the production of humour. He describes how some humour stimuli do not function by provoking our emotions, for example, 'Single frame cartoons picturing absurd situations', or acts of wordplay.[115] Freud's insistence that jokes act as a means to vent surplus psychic energy (as a result of not having needed to repress unconscious feelings) is somewhat invalidated by the work of professional comics and speechwriters, who 'approach the task with conscious strategies for generating set-ups and punch lines'.[116] Similarly, Freud's theory of 'the comic' and the energy taken up by 'mimetic representation' (that is, the mental energy used in comprehending the actions of another by mentally staging our own efforts at such a task) is problematic. If we must summon a larger amount of psychic energy to comprehend the clown's clumsiness in completing simple tasks, and then a smaller amount of energy

[114] Freud, *The Joke and its Relation to the Unconscious*, p. 224.
[115] Morreall, *Comic Relief*, p. 19.
[116] Morreall, *Comic Relief*, p. 21.

to mentally walk ourselves through the same task, Freud argues that we compare the two, and the discrepancy between the two leads us to treat the larger 'packet' of energy as surplus available for laughter. However, as Morreall argues:

> if the energy here is used to think about the two movements, and we do in fact think about those movements, where is the *surplus* energy? The big packet was used to understand the clown's movements and the small packet was used to understand our own movements. Nothing is left over.[117]

Morreall ultimately concludes that both the physical and psychological relief theories are 'based on an outdated hydraulic theory of the mind'.[118] While it is hard to disagree with Morreall's assessment of either theory, the fact still remains that there are forms of humour which are not adequately explained by either the superiority or incongruity theories of humour, in which the humour appears to function as a means to relieve greater emotional strain. This is of course, not precisely in line with either Freud or Spencer's model of body and mind, but it is one that inherits their basic ideas about the usefulness of laughter in mitigating greater emotional harm, and which also corresponds closely to the early modern religious and medical discourses surrounding laughter which regard mirth as a relief from painful emotions.

Amongst the rude, libellous, and outright daft comic epitaphs early modern manuscript compilers chose to add to their texts exists a small subset of epitaphs that appear to combine comedy with what seem to be genuine expressions of sorrow. These texts are almost exclusively focused on public figures at Cambridge and Oxford Universities, and the communal lament that their deaths bring about. One such example describes the death of Thomas Hobson, a carrier who operated a route between London and Cambridge, both transporting goods and letters, and hiring out his horses. Famously, he did not allow any horses to be taken out of turn, which is said to be the origin of the phrase 'Hobson's choice',

[117] Morreall, *Comic Relief*, p. 22.
[118] Morreall, *Comic Relief*, p. 23.

meaning 'this or none.'[119] Comical epitaphs commemorating Hobson were extremely popular, but also tend to strike a genuinely tender tone, where death, not Hobson, serves as the butt of the joke. For example, CUL MS Add. 57 contains a popular version that records the good humour in which Hobson is remembered by Cambridge citizens, while still offering a broadly comical take upon his death:

> Heere lyeth Hobson, amongest his many betters
>
> A man not learned, yett a ma*n* of letters
>
> ffewe) [sic.] in cambridge, vnto his prayse be it spoken
>
> But can reme*m*ber him, by some good token.
>
> ffro*m* thence to Londo*n*, rode he daye by daye,
>
> Tyll deathe benightinge hym, tooke hym awaye,
>
> No wond*er* thinke yee that he thus is gone,
>
> ffor moste men knowe, he longe was drawenge on.
>
> Hys teame was of *th*[e] beste, neyth*er* coolde he haue
>
> Byn myrd in any place, but in a graue.
>
> And there he stycks in deede, styll lyke to stande,
>
> Vntyll some Angell lende his helpinge hande.
>
> Then reste thow heere, thow ever toylinge swayne,
>
> The supreame waggoner, nexte Charles his wayne.[120]

The opening play on words (Hobson was not a 'man of letters' as the scholars that he often served, but he *carried* their letters) could be seen as a rather condescending reminder of Hobson's social status, but is immediately followed by the assurance that he was well-loved by anyone you would care to ask. The high esteem in which Cambridge locals held Hobson is emphasised here with a dramatic shift in

[119] Thomas Cooper (revised by Dorian Gerhold). "Hobson, Thomas" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004). Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13409> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[120] CUL, MS Add. 57, fols. 95[r-v].

meter at this point, swapping from an iambic pentameter (with feminine ending) to a trochaic hexameter for line 3. The joke here reminds us of Hobson's uneducated status, but also leaves us in no doubt that his faithful service as a carrier of letters has placed him in equal regard to the men who wrote the letters he carried. He is after all, eligible to be buried alongside these supposed 'betters'. This type of humour treads a fine line between genuine sorrow and outright comedy, enabled largely by Hobson's role as an easily recognised community figure, but perhaps not someone that most of the readers of this epitaph were especially close to.

The comical suggestion that Hobson's team of horses was so good that only death itself could have prevented his journey is reminiscent of the short, pithy 'occupational' epitaphs discussed above – just as the bellows mender is unable to draw breath, nor can Hobson's horses pull him from the grave. Again, this suggestion is reinforced by a brief switch to trochaic rhythm on 'neyth*er* coolde he haue' before continuing in iambs for 'Been myrd in any place, but in a graue'. The gentle hoofbeat rhythm of the iambic verse is stalled mid-line, just as Hobson himself is said to have been stalled by death. Having been 'myrd' there though, the poet seems well assured that 'some Angell' will assist him when the time comes. Hobson cannot be faulted for succumbing to death since he and his horses have so long outpaced it, and the reader is ultimately reassured of his resurrection. The comedy of this poem is teasing and affectionate, while still taking care to emphasise the genuine sense of grief at the loss of a valued member of the community.

Similar forms of humour can be found in other epitaphs for the university figures which were discussed in Chapter 2 with reference to their dialogic structures. Richard Corbett's epitaph for Dawson, the butler of Christ Church College in which the contents of his pantry behave as mourners at a funeral fits easily into this genre, as do verses composed for another Christ Church butler, 'Owen' in which death comes to the buttery hatch demanding a drink.[121] Yet another university figure, 'Mr Stone of New Colledge' is the subject of another semi-comical epitaph focusing on his name, characterising Mr Stone

[121] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 11^{v}.

as a 'Pretius stone' whom Art, Pallas, and Libitina compete for. The epitaph closes with words (at least supposedly) from Mr Stone himself, who cements the light-hearted tone of this pun with the lines:

> my bedd my graue my shirt my winding sheet
>
> you need not carue a tombe stone out for mee
>
> A tombe stone I vnto my selfe will bee.[122]

As well as staples of the community like couriers, butlers, and entertainingly-named poets, one last type of community figure occasionally featured in comic epitaphs – animals. A particularly painful read for animal lovers, an epitaph 'On M*iste*^{r} ffra*ncis* Lancasters dogg drunckards death' offers an account of a poor dog who was 'both hangd and drowned' by a 'halter & two tides'.[123] The tragic end of a dog apparently left tied up at the mercy of an incoming tide ends with the less-than-remorseful couplet, 'Drunckard farwell. tis well thou art a dogg | Hee that dyes drunckard, truly dyes a hogg.'[124] The tortured pun of these closing lines perhaps helps to relieve the pressure of sadness and guilt at an untimely death caused by negligence.

This relief-oriented comedy is not terribly common in epitaphs, and largely appears to be associated with figures of local community prominence, rather than individual mourning. This approach to commemoration begs the question why a poet may choose to use a comic form of address when the overall tone appears to be one of sincerely felt loss. While it is of course impossible to say why any individual poet may have chosen this approach, considered across even these few examples these texts appear to be an attempt to give voice to a grief which is perhaps more lightly felt on an individual level, but deeply painful on a community level. The grief is acknowledged with sincerity, but the humour also allows for a sense of continuity, and a reprieve from the feelings of overwhelming social loss. As historians such as Nigel Llewellyn have stated, funerary artwork tends to aim to repair the social fabric torn by the loss of a community member, and provide a sense of communal continuity in

[122] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 20^{v}.
[123] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 52^{r}.
[124] BL, Add. MS 30982, fol. 52^{r}.

the face of bereavement.[125] In this case, these poems tread a fine line between adhering to the rule to speak no ill of the dead, while still subjecting these citizens to the same kind of light-hearted jibes that they may have been subject to in life. Hobson's work ethic, the butlers' dedication to their pantries, and Mr Stone's own jokes about his name are all continued in death as in life, mitigating the sense of loss. As has been discussed above, this is not a precise fit for either Spencer or Freud's models for humour, but if we are to regard humour as an occasional means of relief from difficult or painful emotions in a modern context that is divorced from the notion of an 'outdated hydraulic theory of the mind', then this is perhaps the means by which we may do so. These communal outpourings of affection, grief, and loss also act to mitigate bereavement in a highly localised, community-based context by circulating from one compiler to another. Manuscript transmission requires social connection between one copyist to the next, and while eventually a popular text may be found at a great social or physical distance from its initial community, that original outburst of copying takes place amongst a community directly involved in the loss. Copying epitaphs of this kind involves comfort through communal repetition, keeping the dead amongst the living between the pages of a personal document in a paper graveyard that is resistant to demands for propriety.

Conclusion

Unaccustomed as we – and indeed our early modern counterparts – may be to comical epitaphs in the graveyard, they are a consistent and long-standing fixture when it comes to remembering our dead in other contexts. While comical epitaphs are poorly represented in the early modern churchyard, and typically make up only a small proportion of popular printed collections, they are endemic in manuscript collections. Subject to less scrutiny and fewer customs relating to propriety, manuscript collections are a key witness to a side of mourning, commemoration, and outright mockery that has no other comparable outlet. These comical epitaphs align closely with the type of black

[125] See Nigel Llewellyn *The Art of Death* (London: Reaktion Books in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1991), and *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

humour represented in other forms of literature, and fit neatly into several existing social, medical, and religious prescriptions about the motivations for laughter, and the value of mirth in the face of death. In all, this suggests that these epitaphs are not outliers, but part of a well-established and reasonably well-tolerated approach to death and loss. Manuscript culture directly facilitates the inclusion of epitaphs in larger cultures of black humour by removing the necessity for institutional approval.

More than simply engaging in an existing cultural dialogue of black humour, epitaphs of this character significantly advance our understanding of everyday humour in this period. Many of these epitaphs fit into the types of Classical understandings of humour that were part and parcel of a Humanist worldview, using narratives of death to explore ideas about superiority and power. Others revel in the joyful comedy of the unexpected, but where death is centred as the unexpected experience that gives rise to laughter; death is re-framed not as a fearfully surprising experience, but a comical one. Comical epitaphs also engage with the possibility of black humour as an act of communal solidarity, with the sharing of humorous epitaphs forming an inherently social, shared experience. Communities of readers are offered up as a form of continuity – a concern that is often expressed in more serious epitaphs in the context of continuing honour, bloodlines, or reputation – but are figured here as an ongoing process in convivial society. Even the monarch is not exempt from such treatment, with serious epitaphs for Elizabeth I mixed alongside comical fare that makes light of a moment of profound national distress. As well as undoubtedly acting as light-hearted amusement or sharp criticism, comical epitaphs also participate in the heavy-lifting work of mourning, preventing a slide into dangerous despair, and offering the comfort of social continuity in the face of loss. Intersecting with multiple cultural touchpoints for rationalising grief, loss, and death, comical epitaphs are a complex social phenomenon that offer a substantial insight into literary expressions of death.

Chapter 4: De Mortuis Nihil Nisi Bonum: Speaking Ill and Speaking Well of the Dead

Introduction

Of the texts that have been considered so far, libellous epitaphs are the most extensively discussed in existing critical literature. Seated as they are in the broader canon of libellous texts, these poems command attention across a variety of scholarly interests: political history, the rhetorical strategies of libels and satires; the investigation of the way that prohibited texts circulate; and the way in which they are prosecuted when discovered. Libellous epitaphs - that is, epitaphs that make defamatory statements aimed at damaging the reputation of the target - have sat at the fringe of this study so far, emerging as a way to produce humorous contrasts to more stately verses, as a way to offer the reader a sense of superiority over aristocratic figures, and as a vehicle to increase the sting of a nasty comment by couching it in a genre of praise. Drawing these epitaphs front and centre, this chapter explores the use of epitaphs to make libellous commentary in detail and considers how acts of praise measure up against libellous counterparts, how libellous epitaphs make use of conventions set by more traditional epitaphs, and more importantly, how libellous commemoration of the dead fits in with cultural norms for speaking of, to, and with the dead. As scholarly discourse on epitaphs tends to shy away from manuscript texts, libellous epitaphs (which tend not to feature heavily in print) are rarely regarded in detail, and I consider the following study of the use of libellous epitaphs in challenging the honour and praise of the dead to be a significant departure from prior studies of these texts.

Existing studies of early modern libels often focus on their political nature, exploring the way in which libels offer direct commentary on scandal and intrigue, as well as what they can tell us more indirectly about a citizen's expectations of free speech and protest. Among the most influential of the existing studies of libelling is the Early Stuart Libels project, a 'web-based edition of early seventeenth-century political poetry from manuscript sources [bringing] into the public domain over 350 poems, many of which have never before been published', a collection that includes a selection of libellous epitaphs

among its number.[1] While some of the poems collected in the Early Stuart Libels database have clear indications of authorship, the project provides scholarly editions of texts that largely circulated anonymously, and are therefore often overlooked in favour of author-focused edited collections. The database offers detailed information about the social and political circumstances of the libel, and the persons involved in each scandal.

As well as editing the Early Stuart Libels project, McRae and Bellany have also written extensively on the role of libels in early modern discourse. Alastair Bellany convincingly documents the way in which a single libellous epitaph pinned to Archbishop Whitgift's hearse fundamentally changed the way that libels were defined and prosecuted, providing a 'window onto the intersection of the religious, legal, and political histories of the early Stuart era', and how religious and political dissidence were managed by the state.[2] McRae's *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* offers substantial commentary on the culture of libelling and its role in early modern politics. McRae regards libels 'as a pivotal textual site for the development of radical politics', fuelled by a 'radical scepticism about the discourses of authority'.[3] In particular, libellous epitaphs undermine problematic figures of authority and the state-approved narrative of their memorialisation after death.[4] Alongside Bellany and McRae's work in the field of the politics of libel, David Colclough's take on the impact of verse libels is instructive, arguing that libellous poems that circulate illicitly in manuscript copies are an important component of early modern conceptions of free speech, where 'rather than being primarily attacks on persons, libels acted as an unofficial means of counsel to which individuals might have recourse when more acknowledged fora, such as Parliament, appeared to have failed or to have been restrained by the Crown'. He argues that some libellous texts found in manuscripts (some of which had been proscribed by the state) ought

[1] 'Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources', ed. by Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae. Early Modern Literary Studies Text Series I (2005). <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels/> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[2] Alastair Bellany, 'A Poem on the Archbishop's Hearse: Puritanism, Libel, and Sedition after the Hampton Court Conference', *Journal of British Studies*, 34.2 (1995), 137-164 (p.140). Accessed via <https://www.jstor.org/stable/175927> [accessed 25 November 2020]
[3] Andrew McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.52-3.
[4] McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State*, pp.59-74.

to be regarded as 'objects of urgent deliberation among men who were trying to work out how to have truly political debate in a monarchy'.[5] In these contexts, early modern libels can challenge state-ordained narratives, and conduct politics through social networks where other avenues were blocked.

Not all commentators take quite such an overtly political view of the impact of libels. May and Bryson's *Verse Libel in Renaissance England* defines libels as a 'specialized *ad hominem* satire', defined for the purposes of their study as 'attacks that single out one or more individuals who would have been identifiable to contemporary readers'.[6] While acknowledging the political bent of many of these texts, they argue that 'Our enjoyment of these libels seldom depends on their political dimensions [...] Politics concerns governing policies at one level or another, whereas the essence of libels is personal animosity.'[7] While other critics are also keen to mark the aesthetic qualities of libel as part of their appeal, May and Bryson go so far as to treat it as the primary motivating factor for copying such texts, claiming that:

> Interesting, even informative as political issues may be when they occur [...] the literary qualities of many libels provide an aesthetic pleasure that far outweighs issues of practical governance [...] it is the delight in an *ad hominem* attack that produces the distinctive aesthetic pleasure of a well-wrought libel.[8]

[5] David Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.205-6.
[6] Steven W. May and Alan Bryson, *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. v.
[7] May and Bryson, *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland*, p.vi.
[8] In terms of the relevance of aesthetic appeal in libels, Colclough's work, for example, considers libels in terms of rhetorical strategies of epideictic oratory produced as an informal, yet educated level of discourse amongst university students (see Colclough, 'Verse Libels and the Epideictic Tradition in Early Stuart England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69.1 (2006), 15-30 (p.27). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/hlq.2006.69.1.15> [accessed 25 November 2020]). McRae also emphasises the importance of the aesthetics of libels to early modern collectors of such verse, pointing out that 'The most sophisticated of the Cecil libels [...] survives in more sources than any other', indicating 'an application of literary judgement [...] among the men and women who kept miscellanies.' (McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State*, p.24). May and Bryson, *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland*, pp.vi-vii.

May and Bryson regard the legal status of libels as 'even less significant than their political dimensions' with the legal status of libels having 'little substantive effect on the social and literary phenomenon of verse libelling.'[9] The emphasis on an early modern kind of schadenfreude as a clear motivator for libelling is persuasive, but the argument that the legal status of libels is of little consequence in the tradition of copying libellous texts in manuscripts is perhaps a little more dubious – though, as May and Bryson explain, libel laws were not sufficient to make many libellous texts actionable at law until after Edward Coke's landmark redefinition of seditious libel in 1606, which made all libels against crown appointees actionable as libels against the king himself. It is however, important to recognise that libellous epitaphs have remarkable longevity, with some texts circulating for many decades after the death of their subject and well into the period in which they would have become prosecutable. May and Bryson's view lands towards the extreme end of the spectrum of political and legal impacts on libels – even if the libels are not regarded as overtly political discourse, it is hard to deny the view espoused by Arthur Marotti in *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric*, that at the very least, the 'illegality of [libels] not only made them unsuitable for print but also, not unexpectedly, made them desirable in the system of manuscript circulation and compilation of verse', and that these texts bear comparison to political ballads as a 'medium for expressing resentments and criticisms outside the official discourses of the culture.'[10] Even if the pleasure we take in reading libels is largely derived from the *ad hominem* nature of the attack, they cannot be dissociated from the political and social context that produced the libel in the first place, at least, not without sacrificing our broader understanding of the text in a substantial way.

I do not, therefore, intend to minimise the importance of the socio-political backdrop to these texts, yet it is not the primary focus of my work here – as is clear from even the brief summary of the state of the field above, the precise political ramifications of the practice of libelling are already the subject of extensive discussion. Instead, I want to consider how these texts operate within the context of

[9] May and Bryson, *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland*, pp. vii.
[10] Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Cornell University Press, 1995) p.94.

epitaph culture specifically, as well as larger concerns about speaking with, to, or about the dead in early modern England. Perhaps the most substantial of the ways in which libels represent a counter-cultural influence on the relationship between the living and the dead is the way in which they operate in direct contravention to the longstanding principle that one should not speak ill of the dead. 'De mortuis nihil nisi bonum dicendum est' – or 'of the dead, say nothing but good' is a familiar, yet deeply uneasy principle that has quietly seated itself in amongst much of the analysis of epitaphs in the preceding chapters of this work, and it is one which now merits drawing out into the light for more thorough inspection in its own right. This sentiment is at the heart of the impulse behind the knowing wink of the epitaph for the surly foreigner in the Milan papyrus (see Chapter 1), the nasty sting in the libellous epitaphs written against Lady Penelope Rich (see Chapter 2), and the need to remove the beer tap from the German bartender's gravestone (see Chapter 3). However limited our familiarity with the Seven Sages of Greece may generally be, Chilon's words have solidified into an almost instinctive shudder at the prospect of maligning the dead, an instinct that by and large we share with early modern audiences. Nonetheless, an ongoing desire to have the last word at the expense of the dead has sustained a steady stream of literary texts that rail against the iniquities of the deceased. The rebellious urge to defame the dead could easily be said to find its natural peak in the many biting, silly, cruel, and angry libellous epitaphs that make their way into the eager hands of manuscript compilers in this period. It is instructive to consider just how dearly-held 'nil nisi bonum' really is, and the specific ways in which libellous works operate within this context. This chapter builds on the works discussed above, but focuses more precisely on the way in which early modern writers use the epitaph genre specifically to form libels, and when they do so, how they work within social understandings of honour and justice to challenge the reputation of the dead.

I: The Honour of the Dead

In consideration of the legal case for protecting the dead from defamation, Don Herzog's *Defaming the Dead* offers a summary of the reasons why 'nil nisi bonum' held cultural currency in early modern thought. Many of the reasons are similar to modern objections to speaking ill of the dead – most

significantly that the dead cannot defend themselves from whatever allegations are being made, making it not only a dishonourable pursuit, but also an intrinsically cowardly one. Some early modern commentators go so far as to liken the practice to cannibalism, feeding on the 'fame' of the dead as one may consume a body.[11] While the logic for disgust at libelling the defenceless dead remains reasonably similar to any present-day squeamishness, early modern society placed a value on fame, reputation, and honour that is not entirely analogous to modern terms. Reputation was an essential currency for conducting everyday life in ways somewhat alien to a modern reader, making the dismantling of honour a particularly charged issue, even if the reputation in question belongs to one who is already deceased.

Sustaining Honour

Good reputation was not simply a matter of personal vanity, but was essential to many of the most rudimentary aspects of social life. Economic exchanges and the extension of credit were largely informally held rather than established in writing, making credit-score a matter of collective memory. A combined inadequate supply of coinage and lack of banking facilities meant that transactions involving exchanges of cash were uncommon compared to the direct exchange of goods, or promises to pay at a later date.[12] The early modern economy was one primarily founded upon trust, not coinage, making a good reputation not simply a source of personal satisfaction, but a social necessity if one was to sustain an active position in the early modern marketplace. Further to matters of economic consequence, social credit of this kind was a matter of legal importance, where, as Keith Thomas explains, 'criminal trial juries were entitled to take into account their own personal knowledge of the accused's reputation', making a good name in one's community a matter of substantial consequence. Thomas continues, 'Witnesses and defendants alike lost credibility if they had a bad reputation. It was

[11] Don Herzog, *Defaming the* Dead (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), pp.72-75.
[12] For brief summaries of the nature of early modern exchange, see for example Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998), pp.2-7, and Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.176-7.

virtually impossible, for example, for a woman of ill fame to convince a court that she had been raped; and the treatment of offenders could vary considerably according to their degree of respectability'.[13] Rough justice could be meted out by the local community by more unofficial means, should one's reputation be lost. Laura Gowing's examination of early modern gender relations explains how the communal nature of early modern living made some of these punishments into 'a practical manifestation of the public nature of domestic life and an aspect of the way selfhood was experienced through relatedness and embeddedness', and lapses in moral judgement therefore 'brought shame, not just to an individual, but to a household, a street, or a village'.[14] Cuckolded men could expect to be mocked with horns, either in libels, drawings, or even real animal horns left at their doorstep. Men who were subordinated to their wives might be expected to be publicly humiliated by a 'Skimmington Ride', in which 'a man rode backwards on a horse being beaten by a 'wife' (often a woman in men's clothes) sometimes using the skimming ladle women used for cheesemaking'.[15] This carnivalesque reversal of roles was accompanied by the 'rough music' of pots, pans, and basins being clattered in the street, drawing noisy attention to the proceedings. Equally, a woman identified as a scold was subject to punishment at the hands of her husband which held the threat of being turned public – she may be subjected to public humiliation with a 'Scold's bridle', a metal framework that latched over the face and included a metal gag which would pin down the tongue.[16] Honour and reputation are not luxuries but a social necessity for commerce, justice, and dignity.

Honour, reputation, and fame are not just matters of credit extended for socially acceptable behaviour but are also matters of status associated with one's social class, and with very different expectations of men and women. Honourable status is established not just through virtuous behaviour, but also by noble birth. This does not necessarily indicate a long lineage – Courtney Erin Thomas details the 'failing

[13] Thomas, K., *The Ends of Life*, p.176.
[14] Laura Gowing, *Gender Relations in early Modern England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p.60.
[15] Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England*, p.61.
[16] For a description of this, and other public humiliations for unruly women, see Theodora A. Jankowski's *Women in Power in the Early Modern Drama*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), pp.38-40.

lines of inheritance' and undercutting of many noble lines through successive acts of attainder in the reign of the Tudors, which lead to a substantially decreased number of ancient lines by the time Queen Elizabeth ascended to the throne. She explains that 'of the sixty-two living peers in 1560, only twenty-five held titles originating before 1509, and of the seventy-four peerages that existed under Elizabeth I, twenty-five had become extinct by 1640'.[17] Even with the conflict this sparked between the older houses and 'new' men recently granted land or titles, there is broad agreement that honour is a nuanced combination of good lineage and virtuous behaviour, with attributes such as 'Christian morality, sober behaviour, a veneer of education, and involvement in governance as markers of reputation and sources of honour'.[18] One might also add to this list charity, hospitality, and courage. Many of these virtues were expected to be shared by women – hospitality, charity, and sobriety are all worthy qualities, but many of the expectations of honour are less worldly, and substantially more focused on modesty, chastity, obedience, and piety. As we have seen, a disobedient wife who does not have proper deference for her husband is not only subject to humiliating public punishment, but also diminishes her husband's public reputation alongside her own. The chief part of a woman's honour is chastity, without which none of her virtues remain viable. Laura Gowing argues that 'Every commentary on morality placed continence at the heart of female character, and made it the proof of virtue', and as a result, 'To accuse a woman of unchastity undermined her whole character'. While men could come under social and legal scrutiny for sexual impropriety, 'women bore the main responsibility for sexual sin', and accusations against her honour in this way could be particularly damaging.[19] Wives were expected to maintain the household, and bear and raise children – both responsibilities that required an intact reputation for chastity in order to be taken seriously.

Reputation, honour, and fame are of enormous social importance, and as one might expect, accusations that endangered one's reputation may end up being vigorously challenged. If one's

[17] Courtney Erin Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honor, I Lose Myself: Honour among the Early Modern English Elite* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2017), p.9.
[18] Thomas, C., *If I Lose Mine Honor, I Lose Myself*, pp.8-9.
[19] Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England*, p.62.

reputation and social standing were strong enough, an attempt at defamation may require no further action – Bernard Capp's analysis of disputes between women suggests that in cases where a woman 'enjoyed a good reputation, or the allegations appeared ill-founded or malicious, she might have little to fear', since her accuser was more likely to draw ire on herself as a trouble maker than dent anyone else's reputation.[20] However, if the insults were deemed serious enough, a legal case for defamation could be brought to clear one's name. Bringing defamation cases to court became increasingly common in Elizabethan and early Stuart England, and the vast number of cases recorded in this period indicate that this approach was not the sole privilege of the well-off.[21] Launching a defamation suit was not without obstacles though – both in terms of expense and finding suitable, willing witnesses, and this was an approach only taken by an individual 'when they felt the cost of doing nothing outweighed the costs of litigation', or where 'inaction might easily be construed as an admission of guilt, if the allegations had been neither retracted nor silenced.'[22] Accusations of sexual impropriety could be particularly damaging, and at least in London during this period, women instigated the majority of defamation cases.[23] One's honour might well sustain some challenges, but should it be seriously endangered by accusations of dishonesty or impropriety, it was important to defend it. The defence of one's honour might well take on a different trajectory for men. While violence was regarded as unseemly amongst women, the kind of verbal volleys that took place between women were regarded as an effeminate form of conflict which, according to Capp, was viewed as 'unmanly and shameful', and an insult to a man was more likely to be met with 'an immediate challenge or fight.'[24] Elizabeth A. Foyster describes the appeal of fighting over such matters as providing 'immediate satisfaction, and an opportunity to reassert manhood publicly'.[25] Amongst the gentry, duelling was

[20] Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.204.
[21] Capp reviews the evidence for the volume of cases in this period in *When Gossips Meet*, pp.204-5.
[22] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p.208.
[23] Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England*, p. 62.
[24] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p.188.
[25] Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p.178.

available 'as a means of defending and restoring honourable manhood', potentially at great risk to life. Though duelling was met with legal condemnation (and sometimes prosecution), and was regarded by some as directly opposed to Christian values, this 'highly ritualised and codified' form of violence nonetheless thrived in the seventeenth century as a way to defend reputation and honour.[26] Though the way it is achieved may differ according to gender, wealth, and class, what is important is that when reputation and honour are drawn into dispute, individuals would go to great lengths to defend themselves. The loss of honour might well be devastating enough to lead to acts of utter and irreversible desperation – for example, Keith Thomas draws attention to the cases of a 19-year-old son of a Bishop who took his own life rather than be flogged for losing money at tennis, and a Baptist leader who shot himself upon the discovery of his adulterous affair, noting that 'there were many individuals who took their own lives rather than endure public humiliation'.[27] Critical losses of honour and reputation had the potential to make life in early modern England unsustainable.

It is therefore unsurprising that honour, reputation, and fame are substantial concerns in funerary writings and monuments in this period, with many laudatory epitaphs making their way from tombstones to printed books, and into the pages of manuscripts. The compiler of Cambridge MS Add 9221 records a number of epitaphs for the great and the good of medieval London out of Stowe's *Survey of London*, many of which concern themselves almost exclusively with catalogues of virtue and honour. An epitaph for John Rainwell (d.1445), a fishmonger and Lord Mayor of London, calls to attention how 'his acts beare witnis, by matters of record | how charitable he was'.[28] Praising the virtue of charity is not confined to men in epitaphs either – an epitaph for Stephen Forster (Mayor of London 1454-5, d. 1458) celebrates his role as Mayor, but then continues to offer praises to his wife Agnes (d. 1484), who inherited a substantial fortune from her husband. Agnes handled this fortune wisely, trading independently, ensuring the education and financial stability of her children, and

[26] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp.179-80.
[27] Thomas, K., *The Ends of Life*, pp. 175-6.
[28] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Additional 9221, fol. 98^{r}.

engaging in prison reform at Ludgate. Not only did this project involve the rebuilding of the site after damage by fire, but it also saw the administration of the prison overhauled, wherein 'new rules were drawn up to prevent gaolers charging the inmates extortionate prices for the necessities of life such as food, bedding, fuel, and candles'.[29] Accordingly, the epitaph requests for prayers for Agnes:

> that of pitie this house made for Londoners in Ludgate
>
> so that for lodging and water prisoners here nought pay
>
> as their keep*er*s place all answere at dreadfull doomesday[.][30]

Some epitaphs make clearer distinctions between the nature of honour between men and women though – as we have seen in Chapter 2, the epitaph for Thomas Knowles (d. 1435) recognises him as 'grocer & alderman yeares fortie, | Chreif & twice maior truly', calling attention to his role as trader and statesman. By contrast, his wife Joan (d.1431) is described in terms of her success as a wife; she is interred alongside Thomas so that he 'should not lie alone', and the commendations of her life are recorded in terms of the 'sixtie yere' of their marriage, and the 'nineteene Children they had in feere'.[31] A similar approach to apportioning honour is present in an epitaph for one William Wilson and his family. William's son-in-law 'Henrie Deacon' is described in terms of his occupation, 'Sargeant Plumber vnto | Our good Queene Elizabeth'. Meanwhile, William's daughter Alice is described only in terms of having been a 'deare' daughter who left a surviving daughter of her own 'To bee [Henry's] comfort euery where | Now Alice is dead and gone'.[32] A clear separation between the public and private spheres of home and work are demarcated in these texts, in which men's honour is found in the workplace, women's in marital fidelity and childbearing.

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[29] Caroline M. Barron, 'Agnes Forster [Foster], wealthy widow and prison reformer' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008). Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/54439> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[30] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 98^{r}.
[31] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 98^{r}.
[32] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 111^{v}.

Sometimes these epitaphs go so far as to weigh one's honourable station and deeds against the inevitability of death in the form of a showcase of virtues. An epitaph for Sir John Leigh (d.1564) in the same manuscript offers:

> no wealth no praise no bright renowne no skill
>
> no force no fame no princis loue no toyle
>
> though forraine land by trauell search ye will
>
> no faithfull seruice of the Contrey soyle
>
> can lif p*ro*long one minute of an houre[.][33]

It is no surprise to find that the epitaph continues by telling the reader that while none of these honours can sustain life, Sir John was in fact worthy of all of these accolades in his lifetime. Although we find him 'too sone by death opprest', our speaker tells us, 'his fame yet liues, his soule in heauen doth rest'.[34] Body, soul, and fame are divided here in order to apportion the outcomes of an honourable life appropriately – it may seem like a contradiction to offer that 'no force no fame [...] can lif p*ro*long' while simultaneously claiming that 'his fame yet liues', but this is carefully resolved by the separation of the constituent parts of Sir John upon his death. Fame does not prolong the life of the body, which is 'opprest' by death, but it persists after the decay of the body on earth, in parallel to the soul that 'in heauen doth rest'. Virtues, honour, and reputation in life lead to a fame that outlives the body and perpetuates Sir John Leigh's earthly influence long after he has gone.

To present honour in these terms is helpful to understand its crucial role in early modern English society, and goes a long way to explain why the dismantling of honour was so readily and vigorously challenged by those who found themselves subject to the scandal of a libel. Where it falls short is in explaining precisely why families of the deceased took such pains as to configure honour as eternal, or why any affronts to honour remain so injurious even after the death of an individual. Early modern

[33] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 98^{v}.
[34] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 98^{v}.

honour is not simply a matter of *personal* credit, and is more helpfully described by Courtney Erin Thomas as 'more of a collective than an individual value' wherein it may be 'temporarily held in trust by an individual', but is more correctly regarded as ultimately belonging 'to the family, to the house.'[35] Honour was an inter-generational concern, and honour or disrepute did not simply die with the individual who had earned it – Elizabeth A. Foyster describes how 'an affront to one member of a family was seen as an insult and challenge to the honour of the whole household', and the need to perpetuate an honourable reputation is represented in funerary effigies and eulogies in church monuments where such works 'testify to the collective honour of ancient families'.[36] This conception of honour is of course, the entire dramatic force behind Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Nor was the inter-generational nature of honour only a matter for the gentry rich enough to afford funerary monuments – Foyster demonstrates through the study of early modern defamation cases amongst the lower classes that drawing attention to a supposedly dishonourable lineage was a substantial means with which to insult someone and decrease their social standing, a class of attack that was vigorously defended through the law courts. Honour and shame could both be 'inherited from one generation to the next', affecting one's overall social standing just as effectively as any active attempts at honourable behaviour conducted within one's own lifetime.[37]

Herein lies the motivation for presenting Sir John Leigh's honour as 'yet living' in some way, even as his soul has left the earth and his body has returned to it - eternal honour is a personal reward, but also one that confers direct benefits on whichever relatives saw fit to ensure that Leigh's monument recorded his fame. Reformation theology makes the recording of fame in epitaphs perhaps even more necessary than in their pre-Reformation counterparts. Faced with the iconoclastic destruction of church monuments, Queen Elizabeth made a proclamation on 19 September 1560 that prohibited the 'breakinge or defacing monumentes of antiquitie', declaring that monuments were placed 'only to

[35] Thomas, C., *If I Lose Mine Honor, I Lose Myself*, p.161.
[36] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp.32-33.
[37] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp.33-35.

shewe a memory to the posteritie of the persons there buryed'.[38] As Peter Sherlock discusses in *Monument and Memory in Early Modern England*, this proclamation 'gave monuments new terms of reference [...] freed from their medieval function as sites of intercession for the dead and set apart from other ecclesiastical imagery'. Furthermore, 'The business of monuments was memory, and remembering the dead was incumbent upon their posterity if they wished to assert their rights and inheritances. The kingdom as a whole relied on the example of the dead to understand where each person and family stood relative to one another.'[39] Without the trappings of purgatory and intercession, honour became a much more substantial preoccupation for epitaphs, with recurring images of 'fame', 'honour', 'memory', and 'posterity' as regular markers of worth. In this context, *de mortuis nihil nisi bonum* is a dearly held value, because discrediting the defenceless dead is not only a dishonourable pursuit in terms of the damage done to the deceased, but also for the sake of the damage a sullied reputation can do to their successors.

Dismantling Honour

Libellous epitaphs present multiple strategies for deconstructing their targets' reputations, taking aim at their honour and fame whilst using the very genre that is normally used to cultivate and sustain posthumous reputation and social position. A strong contender for the dubious honour of being the recipient of the greatest number of libellous epitaphs - and a helpful case study here - Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (d. 1612) attracted bitter criticism from his opponents after his death. The Early Stuart Libels project documents twenty two extant libels on Cecil, of which at least half can be reasonably considered to be epitaphs, several of which self-consciously mirror the structure for offering praises to honourable characteristics and deeds in cataloguing his misdeeds and failings. By comparison, only

[38] Elizabeth I, *A proclamation against breakinge or defacing of monumentes of antiquitie, beyng set up in churches or other publique places for memory and not for supersticion* (London: Richard Iugge and Iohn Cawood, 1560); *STC* (2nd ed.) 7913. Accessed via JISC Historical Texts <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm33151096e> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[39] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.167.

four verse defences of the late Lord Treasurer survive.[40] Cecil certainly accrued a substantial number of grievances against him during his storied career as one of the most successful politicians of the late Tudor and early Stuart courts. Accusations that Cecil and his cronies had orchestrated the Earl of Essex's downfall followed him, from Essex's execution to Cecil's own death. In his role as Lord Treasurer, Cecil was responsible for managing a crown in financial crisis, and several rounds of heavy parliamentary taxation followed James' accession to the throne. Additionally, the crown demanded loans against Privy Seals, something that Cecil privately advised against, but still ultimately shouldered the responsibility for. Attempts to bring the crown estate into order resulted in criticisms for selling off mills, and cutting down woodland. Raising the incomes of crown lands in line with inflation only added to the ill will against Cecil – though it may have made the crown more self-sufficient, many had benefitted from the rather light-handed management of previous Lord Treasurers and resented Cecil's interventions. Having gained a reputation for scrupulous taxation, Cecil himself fared financially well during this time, a fact that did not go unnoticed by his detractors.[41] As well as having made a number of vastly unpopular political decisions, Cecil also came under scrutiny for his private indiscretions. Libellers consistently linked him with Catherine, Countess of Suffolk (wife of Cecil's friend Thomas Howard), as well as Lady Walsingham, mistress of the robes to Anne of Denmark – Cecil's notorious death from what was supposed to be the pox only added fuel to the fire of the accusations of sexual impropriety.[42] Lastly, Cecil's short stature and crooked spine – physical deformities that were seen as outward manifestations of inner corruption – made him irresistible to libellers and a particularly ripe subject for epitaphs intended to dishonour him.

Pauline Croft has performed perhaps the most thorough analysis of the political ramifications of Cecil's career and the libels that dogged it, and I do not wish to re-trace her thorough steps here. Instead, let

[40] 'The Death of Robert Cecil' in "Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources." ed. by Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae. (*Early Modern Literary Studies* Text Series i, 2005). Accessed via <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/parliament_fart_section/C0.html> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[41] See Pauline Croft, 'The Reputation of Robert Cecil: Libels, Political Opinion and Popular Awareness in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1 (1991), 43-69. Accessed via <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3679029> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[42] Croft, 'The Reputation of Robert Cecil', p.58.

us look more closely at the rhetorical strategies used by libellers that are unique to the genre of epitaph writing in order to damage his reputation and blight his honour. For Cecil was not indeed universally hated – Croft's article on the Cecil libels opens with quotations from John Chamberlain's correspondence out of London, where he describes how Cecil was in perilously poor health, and 'alredy much lamented and every man sayes what a misse there wold be of him'. After Cecil's death, Chamberlain goes on to express horrified surprise at the way in which 'the memorie of the late Lord Treasurer growes dayly worse and worse and more libells come as yt were continually'.[43] While many of his political decisions drew ire from the gentry, at his death, Cecil was clearly still possessed of sufficient honour and good standing that his name could be subsequently damaged by libels.

One particularly cutting dismissal of Cecil's legacy offers a direct counterpoint to the usual tropes of praise. The epitaph reads, in full:

> Heere lyeth g*rea*^{t} Salisbury who litle of stature
> a monster of myschiefe ambitious of nature
> a states ma*n* that dyd impouerishe *th*^{e} crowne
> solde mylls & lands & forrests cutt downe
> his care of the comons, *th*^{e} contry now feeles
> w*i*^{t}h trickes & w*i*^{t}*h* trapps & w*i*^{t}*h* preuy seales
> Kynge contry & como*n*s mourne & lamente
> he is gone to hell to rayse *th*^{e} devills rente.[44]

This is a careful and thorough attack on both Cecil's character and administration, presented in terms that are recognisable from legitimate epitaphs. The 'here lies' gesture that Newstok regards as so essential to epitaphs is immediately offered, and the epitaph is suitably brief – at 8 lines and well under one hundred words, it is of a similar length to the epitaphs for medieval merchants copied out

[43] 'The Letters of John Chamberlain', cited in Pauline Croft, 'The Reputation of Robert Cecil', p.43.
[44] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Additional 57, fol. 95^{r}.

of Stowe (from real church inscriptions) discussed above. The epitaph summarises Cecil's life in similar terms to the epitaphs for merchants to perverse effect – Cecil's role as 'states ma*n*' is duly noted just as the 'wayer' and 'grocer & alderman' above have their professions celebrated, only here, Cecil is recorded as a statesman who 'dyd impouerishe *th*^{e} crowne'. His 'achievements' in the role are also listed in detail – the selling of royal assets and cutting of forests, and the controversial privy seal loans all make an appearance (though as Croft argues, many of these accusations of impoverishment are deeply unfair).[45]

A common convention of epitaphs of praise is to recognise the generous charity of the deceased by emphasising how the poor lament an individual's passing. An epitaph for Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset (d.1608) notes his role in feeding the 'hungry poor', and his status as 'the orfans hope the widdows help'.[46] Likewise, the epitaph for Lady Frevile (d. 1630) discussed in Chapter 1 not only emphasises her charitable giving, but also calls the poor to 'come' in order to 'deplore yo*u*^{r} losse; for she is from yo^{u} taken, | whome yo^{u}, neither in life nor death vnkindly hath forsaken'.[47] Just as the convention of celebrating the profession of the deceased is repurposed in order to denigrate Cecil, the trope of the lamenting common folk is also treated to the same reversal. We are told of his 'care of the comons' that the 'contry now feeles', but this care is not evinced through charitable giving, but rather through taking, by means of 'trapps' and 'preuy seales'. The libel goes on to describe how (in a typical trope of praise), 'Kynge contry & como*n*s mourne & lamente', but the deeply cutting punchline that closes the poem is that Cecil has not ascended to heaven, but 'is gone to hell to rayse *th*^{e} deuills rente'. This is a carefully constructed dismantling of the means by which honour is represented to the public and preserved after death, which does not even allow that Cecil might cease his cash-grabbing ways once he reaches hell.

[45] Croft, 'The Reputation of Robert Cecil', pp.49-50.
[46] CUL, MS Add. 9221, fol. 100^{v}.
[47] London, British Library (BL), Egerton MS 2877, fol. 106^{r}.

An entirely common feature of libellous epitaphs against Cecil, but an uncommon one in terms of the epitaph genre more generally, is the focus on his body. When laudatory epitaphs refer to the body, it is usually to describe its state of decay in comparison to the eternal soul which is now (hopefully) resting in heaven. Libels place an entirely different focus on physical embodiment, as described in Andrew McRae's work on satire in this period, which highlights the body as essential to an understanding of early modern political libel. He says:

> though [the body] might initially seem unconnected to matters of state, [it] is thus consistently inscribed into political discourse. Faced with the decaying body of Cecil, libellers respond with vitriolic claims of interconnected moral and political corruption; faced with the outwardly splendid bodies of Howard or Buckingham, they speculate about hidden flaws. Ultimately, in their attention to the conscience, libellers used a vocabulary of corporeality to identify a foundational site of identity.[48]

The Cecil libels do not just comment on his bodily appearance, but do so as though his short stature and crooked spine were an ongoing defining feature, as opposed to one that is destined to decay and be replaced by more enduring characteristics. This epitaph goes so far as to open with a description of Cecil's perceived deformity, immediately drawing the reader's attention to the contrast between his reputation as '*grea*t Salisbury' and his physical appearance which was remarkably 'litle of stature'. The whole spiteful commentary on Cecil's life which follows is framed by this demeaning physical description, and the corresponding comment in the following line that regards him as a 'monster'. Monstrous, mischievous, and ambitious, Cecil's body becomes another target for speaking ill of the dead, and another site on which to write his corrupted identity – body, fame, reputation, and honour are not spared by this dismantling of Cecil's personhood at the hands of his detractors.

While critics sometimes point out the additional 'sting' given to libels by offering up the challenge to one's reputation in the form of an epitaph, this does not simply arise from the implication that ill deeds

[48] McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State*, p.68.

are all that is worthy to be commemorated of someone's life – to write a libel in the guise of an epitaph is to directly undermine something of enormous value to both the deceased and their family. Given the well-established tradition for graveyard epitaphs to be structured around a list of praiseworthy attributes and actions that speak to the honour of the dead, libellous epitaphs often work to demean the dead in an equal and opposite fashion. They tailor the epitaph so that that they not only bring dishonour to the victim, but do so in such a way that suggests that the text of the libel might find its natural home in an official graveyard, in a church. 'Heere lyeth g*rea*^{t} Salisbury' is at least in part so effective as a critique of Cecil for the way in which it mirrors the structure of encomiastic verse, with a lists of vices in place of the parade of praise we see in the epitaphs for London mayors above. The 'here lies' gesture mimics conventional epitaphs, but the conventional deictic gesture takes on additional resonance in the context of a libel. This epitaph is not only pretending to act as a memorial to the deceased, it is claiming a place at the actual graveside, suggesting that it might even be a fitting tribute in the church in which Cecil is interred. Funerary monuments were expensive edifices, often constructed within the lifetime of the deceased, and it is difficult to imagine the painful effect of having a monument defaced in such a way, even in fiction.[49]

Other epitaphs sustain the sense of offering a 'replacement' text for a grave but place themselves at a greater physical distance. One example opens with the lines, 'At hatfield neere hartford there lyes in a coffin | A heart breaking harpie of shape lyke a Dolphin'.[50] Like 'Heere lyeth g*rea*^{t} Salisbury' the poem quickly draws attention to Cecil's crooked back by alluding to the curved shape of a dolphin, but the crooked body that the reader is invited to imagine is not *here*, but 'At hatfield neere hartford'. The

[49] Nigel Llewellyn outlines the costs of monuments in *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) pp. 164-7. He estimates that about a third of monuments were erected while the subjects were still living, see Nigel Llewellyn, 'Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England'*, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 6 (1996), 179-200, (p. 191).

[50] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Additional 4138, fol. 48^{r}. While 'harpie' is more commonly used as an insult against women, this poem definitely refers to Cecil. The allusion to the (female) mythological winged beast is perhaps an attempt at emasculating Cecil, especially given the way the libel later refers to Cecil's rumoured affairs – sexual impropriety is of course, an accusation far more often levelled at women than men.

poem goes on in much the same vein as 'Heere lyeth g*rea*^{t} Salisbury' in listing a catalogue of vices and political failures, though it adds to the catalogue of personal and political misdeeds accusations of popery and sexual impropriety, the latter being cited as his cause of death as a result of a pox. It is the rhetorical move from '*here* lies' to '*there* lies' that interests us here though – it is a familiar enough gesture to proximity to a body that it successfully calls to mind an epitaph, and structurally it bears all the hallmarks of one - but unusually, it makes no claim to be directly on the grave itself, instead telling the reader where to find the actual, physical grave. Here we see an epitaph self-consciously produced for manuscript, offering itself up as a parallel text to whatever might be found at the real grave site. The step to the grave-side is an imaginative, not a physical movement, but one no less destructive in its scope. The reader is situated not amongst mourners paying respects, but is placed at a distance, alongside fellow mocking voices copying down the text.

It is interesting to note briefly the way in which Cecil's self-conceptualisation is expressed through his actual tomb (which was commissioned and approved in his lifetime), and how it challenges the attacks on his character that came after his death. Pauline Croft describes Cecil's tomb as follows:

> On a slab of black marble lies a life-size effigy in Garter robes with the white staff of the lord treasurer in its right hand. The four cardinal virtues, Justice, Temperance, Fortitude and Prudence, uphold the slab and underneath is an extremely realistic skeleton, a device common in the later middle ages but rare in the early seventeenth century. The overall effect is strikingly sombre [...] There is no visible Christian symbolism, no statement of a hope of resurrection. There is no epitaph extolling his extraordinary career, no indication of family pride, no mention of his unparalleled tenure of the three greatest offices of state - a rare act of self-abnegation for a Jacobean power-broker.[51]

The lack of an epitaph is, as Croft notes, distinctly unusual, and while it is unhelpful to speculate on Cecil's reasons for forgoing this traditional embellishment on his grave, we can still note the way in

[51] Pauline Croft, 'The Religion of Robert Cecil', *The Historical Journal*, 34.4 (1991), 773-796, p.790. Accessed via <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2639581> [accessed 25 November 2020].

which the absence of the written word forces the viewer to focus on the visual imagery of the tomb. The effigy of Cecil displays his much commented-on body, but in a way that emphasises his political successes in the form of ceremonial vestments over any shortcomings of his physical form. More important than this is the unusual choice to style his lasting monument on earth as an old-fashioned transi tomb, with a decaying skeleton to accompany the effigy of Cecil that represents him at the peak of his achievements. A transi tomb calls upon the viewer to contemplate their own mortality and to recall that earthly achievements will all fade as the body decays. Such a statement is particularly pertinent when applied to someone for whom their physical body and its perceived shortcomings was a matter of public conversation – it is a firm reminder of the unimportance of the body compared to eternal rewards, and impresses upon the viewer that whatever our physical appearance in life, we are all much the same in a state of decay. The aversion to speaking ill of the dead may stem at least in part from the feeling that it is unfair to attack those who are incapable of defending themselves, but it is important to remember that the dead are not always without agency. Should one actually travel to 'hatfield neere hartford' to find the body that 'lyes in a coffin [...] of shape lyke a Dolphin', they will be presented with a skeleton that denies the power of this statement with its insistence on the levelling effect of decay.

II: Libels as Historical Story-Telling

The libels against Robert Cecil challenge our expectations of just how dearly held the instruction to speak no ill of the dead may be, since many of them gleefully attack the late Lord Chancellor for no more clearly stated reason than displeasure at his politics. There are however, reasons why one may find just cause to break with convention and speak unkindly of the dead. As Herzog describes in *Defaming the Dead*, too close an adherence to *de mortuis* would make it impossible to recount history, since it demands an account of both wise figures and tyrants alike.[52] Early modern opponents of *de mortuis* also contended that it was not wrong to speak ill of the dead if one was only speaking the

[52] Herzog, *Defaming the Dead*, p.79.

truth, a principle that also sometimes holds true for libellous epitaphs of this period. On one famous occasion, this principle was called upon as a matter of legal defence in a case that would redefine the laws by which libels were judged.

When in 1605 Lewis Pickering was accused of composing an epitaph that libelled Archbishop Whitgift (which was found affixed to his hearse at the funeral), he defended himself in the Star Chamber by challenging the designation of libel – in common law hearings at least, a statement had to be factually untrue for an accusation of libel to be upheld. Pickering also argued in his hearing that 'he tooke it to be no lybelle ... & beine of a deade man he tooke it no offence', relying on the common-law principle that the dead could not be libelled.[53] Edward Coke, the King's attorney general, was not easily deterred from securing the conviction though, and argued that to libel even deceased agents of the crown calls into question the honour and judgement of the monarch who appointed them. Furthermore, he argued that libel should not rightly die with the subject of the libel since it was their honour at stake, and honour was a matter that was not tied to a single individual, but that persisted through bloodlines and social connections. Those who shared in the victim's honour were also damaged by the libel, and may be provoked to seek revenge, resulting in a breach of the peace. The potentially deleterious effects of a libel, regardless of its contents, led Coke to also conclude that it did not matter if a libel was true; in cases of *scandalum magnatum* the impingement on the honour of the crown and the resulting risk of breaching the peace was enough to secure a conviction even if the libel contained no lies.[54] Coke's judgment was reported in *De Libellis Famosis* in 1606, a document that allowed that common law courts could also take the view that truth was not enough to defend against accusations of seditious libel.

[53] *Les Reportes Del Cases in Camera Stellata (1593-1609) From the Original MS. of John Hawarde*, ed. William Paley Baildon (London, 1894), cited by Alastair Bellany, in 'A Poem on the Archbishop's Hearse: Puritanism, Libel, and Sedition after the Hampton Court Conference', *Journal of British Studies*, 34.2 (1995), 137-164, pp.152-3. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/175927> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[54] My summary of this case is based on the details offered by Bellany, in 'A Poem on the Archbishop's Hearse' – for a fuller discussion of the details of the case, see pp. 155-158.

The redefining of libel laws in these terms made libelling a substantially more dangerous activity, but it was one that was nonetheless readily engaged in. Libels saw lively circulation in manuscripts, were sometimes set to music and could be found pinned in public places.[55] Many of these libels appear to justify their place by acting as a witness to history, recounting the misrule of regents, or the wrongdoings of members of the court as a matter of public record. While some of these texts are quite spiteful in nature, they are not necessarily characterised by the same recourse to petty insults as the attacks on fame and reputation we see in the epitaphs for the Earl of Salisbury. Alongside Robert Cecil, George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham vies for place as one of the most readily-libelled public figures of this period. A controversial favourite of both James I and Charles I, Buckingham quickly rose through the ranks of power to a position of political and military influence. Unfortunately, Buckingham was not an adept military commander, and was responsible for costly and embarrassing losses at Cádiz in 1625 and on the Île de Ré in 1627, and on two occasions Parliament attempted (unsuccessfully) to call him to heel and limit his influence. In 1628, Buckingham was assassinated by a disgruntled army officer who had been grievously injured, passed over for promotion, and was owed a substantial sum in back pay. Bellany and McRae describe how the assassin, John Felton, sewed into his hatband two apologies for the murder, claiming that he was acting as 'a patriot, a gentleman and a soldier', in the interests of the 'public good'.[56] By this time, Buckingham was near-universally hated amongst the public, and a frenzy of epitaphs circulated in manuscript that libelled Buckingham while praising Felton, as well as a few examples of defences for the murdered Duke. While some of the libels are eminently spiteful in tone, others situate themselves more comfortably in the role of recording the troubling history of the

[55] For a discussion of libels inscribed onto public spaces, see Andrew Gordon, 'The Act of Libel: Conscripting Civic Space in Early Modern England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32.2 (2002), 375-97. Accessed via https://muse.jhu.edu/article/16510 [accessed 25 November 2020]. For a brief discussion of the dissemination of libels as ballads, see Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 103-5.
[56] Bellany and McRae, 'Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources'. Accessed via <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/buckingham_assassination_section/P0.html> [accessed 25 November 2020].

courtier, where in the course of these duties the narration of his patchwork reputation could not be helped.

One such example is a short poem by James Shirley, which Bellany and McRae describe as 'equivocal' in tone, and which explores the chequered nature of Buckingham's career. Not as popular as some of the more salacious texts, this short poem nonetheless registers with six separate entries on the Folger Union First Line Index, suggesting a reasonable circulation.[57] The text reads:

> Here lyes the best & worst of fate
>
> Two princes loue, *th*[e] peoples hate
>
> Greate enuyes feare, *th*[e] kindomes eye
>
> A man to sharpe [sic.], an angell by
>
> His ownes liues wonder, pale deaths glory
>
> The greate mans volume, all times story.[58]

This poem doesn't have the same invective force that may usually be associated with a libel, but it is nonetheless critical of the role and reputation of the King's recently murdered favourite, and falls far short of the type of encomiastic praise one might more readily expect from an epitaph appearing in any official capacity. In his history of Western epitaphs, Karl S. Guthke addresses the proverbial tendency for epitaphs to at best, creatively cover for the shortcomings of those interred in the grave beneath, and at worst, to deliberately lie in order to sustain a positive reputation for the deceased, a practice which gives rise to the proverbial saying, 'lying like an epitaph'.[59] Importantly, Shirley does not do this – he does not subvert expectations by using a traditional genre of praise to directly discredit

[57] See 'Folger Union First Line Index'. Accessed via <http://firstlines.folger.edu/>, [accessed 25 November 2020].
[58] London, British Library (BL), Additional MS 30982, fol. 45[v].
[59] Karl S. Guthke's *Epitaph Culture in the West: Variations on a Theme in Cultural History* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003) has an entire chapter dedicated to 'The Ethics of Dishonesty' in epitaphs, pp.117-142. See especially pp.124-5 for a discussion of the proverb specifically.

the deceased, instead he goes further by challenging preconceptions of the epitaph genre in order to offer something close to a balanced account of a largely successful, but unpopular career.

Shirley offers us a direct contrast between the public and private perceptions of Buckingham's life, a series of conflicting images that prompt him to call Villiers 'the best & worst of fate'. While Buckingham held the close favour of both James I & VI and his son Charles I (with considerable speculation that his relationship to James was more than platonic in nature), his rapid rise to power and military failures earned him the sincere hatred of the public. He may have been beautiful, 'a man to shape an angel by', but visible beauty is contrasted against the perception of those who are looking upon that beauty in the preceding line – the kingdom looks upon Buckingham, but not favourably. Our sense of unease at Buckingham's double legacy is confirmed by the unsteady beat of the final couplet. The poem has so far been characterised by a total metrical evenness, with lines in iambic tetrameter split straight down the middle by a comma in each line. It is hard not to see this neatly structured text as a call to be read in terms of Buckingham's dual reputation as both the Kings' favourite, and the people's enemy. The final two lines of the poem break with this structure, though the sentiment expressed holds on to the ambiguity that the epitaph's previous four lines have built. The line still breaks near the middle with a direct contrast between the opposing sides of the comma – for example, 'his ownes lives wonder' butts uncomfortably against 'pale deaths glory', but in an uneven, nine syllable line which leaves us a little uneasy, and a little uncomfortable with the 'balance' we are being offered by the closing couplet. This is a libel of sorts, but one characterised by ambiguity, and an apparent desire to give an even-handed account of a decidedly problematic political figure.

The other approach to giving an account of Buckingham's infirmities in an epitaph was to compose epitaphs in praise of John Felton, celebrating the assassin's work and attempting to mitigate the ignominy brought upon him by the hanging, dismembering, and public display of his mutilated body. Some epitaphs concern themselves only with praising Felton and attempting to rehabilitate his reputation – the most widely circulated text that treats directly with the King's decision to have

Felton's body hung in chains outside Portsmouth seeks only to address Felton's lack of proper burial without deigning to mention Buckingham, or the murder for which Felton was tried at all. The poem opens by describing how 'Heere uninterr'd suspends (though not to save | Surviving frends th'expences of a grave) | Feltons dead Earth', before reconstructing the posthumous punishment for Buckingham's murder into terms more fit for what many saw as a patriotic hero. His suspended body becomes its 'owne sadd Monument', which is 'entombd in Ayre' and 'Archt o're with heaven'. His body is spared from the indignity of consumption by worms such as it might experience in a conventional grave, and is instead embalmed with tears provided by the 'charitable skies'.[60] Buckingham is effectively libelled by an epitaph which celebrates his murderer without ever being directly mentioned, or indirectly alluded to. No speaking ill of the dead takes place here, but the libel is clearly recognisable by what goes *un*spoken.

III: Putting the Dead in their Places

Speaking ill of the dead may be used to give a truthful account of the life of the deceased, using epitaphs to give an accurate representation of a person's achievements and shortcomings. However, not all texts are quite so clinical in their approach to truth-telling, and offer up a scandalous epitaph as a ward against further aberrant behaviour, a moral warning or a posthumous punishment. It is all very well to speak no ill of the dead, but when the dead have most decidedly done ill deeds, it serves a morally dubious purpose to be protective of their reputations – it does not do to suggest that one can lie, cheat, or steal and continue to be safe in the knowledge that this will not mar an eternal reputation. While thus far the libels I have focused on have largely to do with recording the deeds of figures who made destructive or unpopular political choices, there is no shortage of libels that address

[60] 'Pii15 Heere uninterr'd suspends (though not to save' in 'Early Stuart Libels' ed. by Bellany and McRae. Accessed via <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/buckingham_assassination_section/Pii15.html> [accessed 15 November 2020].

the crimes and scandals of the early modern court with a gleeful sort of spite, and it is to these poems that I shall now turn.

There are of course, socially sanctioned means by which to handle the discussion of crimes after the death of the perpetrator while both avoiding accusations of libel and remaining safely on the side of speaking well of the dead, and libellous epitaphs that recount ill deeds with something of a morbid fascination or spiteful intent can be productively measured against these publications. This is, after all, a period in which executions were a formalised public spectacle, and as we have seen from the abuses of John Felton's body after his execution, the state was not terribly concerned with the preservation of reputation in criminals it wished to make examples of. More central to our purposes though, is not the public display of dead and mutilated bodies, but the textual apparatus that surround the public rituals of execution and the way in which they manage the expectation that the dead will not be spoken of unjustly, while still offering a frank discussion of their crimes. Public executions were highly ritualised, and came with a number of formal expectations. The criminals may be processed to the gallows, and a sermon was an entirely expected part of proceedings. Of all the rituals of execution, J. A. Sharpe describes how speeches delivered from the scaffold by convicted criminals just prior to their deaths are 'by far the most consistently reported aspect of these rituals, and evidently one which was felt to be of central importance'.[61] Dying speeches were not simply expected, but deemed significant enough to be recorded.

These speeches were often reported in printed pamphlets and chapbooks, which could be purchased cheaply and which often offered a detailed account of the execution as a whole. Sharpe continues:

> According to the pamphlets, the condemned was expected to make a farewell speech, and usually did so in a very stereotyped form. The purpose of these speeches, unsurprisingly enough, was to remind spectators that the death of the condemned constituted an awful warning. As Henry Goodcole,

[61] J. A. Sharpe, '"Last Dying Speeches" Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 107 (1985), 144-67 (p.150). Accessed via <https://www.jstor.org/stable/650708> [accessed 25 November 2020].

> part-time ordinary of Newgate and the author of a number of early tracts on London crime, remarked in 1618: 'dying men's wordes are ever remarkable, & their last deeds memorable for succeeding posterities, by them to be instructed, what vertues or vices they followed and imbraced, and by them to learne to imitate that which was good, and to eschew evill'.[62]

Not only does the public nature of the execution itself warn of the consequences of criminal behaviour (again, Sharpe notes that large gatherings of 'several hundreds or several thousands of the lower orders was not regularly encouraged') but the public repenting of sins and meek submission to execution meticulously charts the path to self-destruction so that witnesses (and readers of the printed text of the speech) can better learn to avoid it.[63] This kind of discourse allows the deceased to have their crimes recounted and yet still be spoken well of – indeed, the sermon preached at the execution of John Marketman, a man who stabbed his pregnant wife to death, characterises the condemned as a 'monument' to God's justice through which God might show the people the consequences of a sinfully-lived life, giving a convicted murderer a divinely ordained social purpose.[64] When it comes to the circulation of pamphlets describing the execution as a text that could be read after Marketman's death, one can read a detailed account of his sins, lapses in judgement, and the crime for which he was eventually executed in both the sermon and Marketman's own speech without the sense that the dead are being scandalously spoken ill of. This is an important part of the ritual of executions, not just as an 'awful warning' but also as a necessary part of dismantling and reframing the reputation of the deceased, lest it could be said that one could commit any number of heinous crimes in life, and have one's reputation automatically restored at the point of death to avoid 'speaking ill'. Crimes must be accounted for in a posthumous reputation, and socially appropriate ways of doing so were made available.

[62] Sharpe, 'Last Dying Speeches', p.150.
[63] Sharpe, 'Last Dying Speeches', p. 161.
[64] Sharpe, 'Last Dying Speeches', p. 145.

While the sanctioned methods of recounting ill deeds focus on the utility of condemned criminals as an example to others, libellous epitaphs that focus on crime and scandal tend not to concern themselves with this redemptive focus, and instead work to ensure that the final reputation of the deceased accounts for their shortcomings, often in ways that are intentionally spiteful or cutting. In many cases, there is a sense that the character assassination offered by the libel is not just an act of retribution for the crimes committed, but also a restorative move, putting the libelled subject into their 'proper' place, where perhaps their actual grave sites may not. One scathing example is the treatment that Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor to Queen Elizabeth (d. 1591), receives in epitaphs. Hatton spent a successful career in Elizabeth's favour and became fabulously wealthy as a result – even if his extravagant spending meant that he died with substantial debts. His monument at St Paul's was placed at the high altar and was famously enormous, and such extravagance does not go un-noted by commentators in mock-epitaphs.[65] Cambridge MS Add 4138 offers three short verses one after the other on the subject of Hatton's outlandish tomb, as follows:

> Of Sir Christopher Hatton./
> Here lyes in gold, and not in brasse
> at least a man and halfe.
> Who liuing was a siluer asse,
> Now dead a golden calfe./
>
> Epitaphs of Sir Francis Walsingham & Sir Philip Sidney
> Nullus Francisco tumulus nullusque Philipo,
> Christoforo mons est, ac tumulus cumulus.
> Philipe and Francis haue no Tombe,

[65] Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Hatton, Sir Christopher (c. 1540–1591), courtier and politician' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2016). Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12605> [Accessed 25 November 2020].

for Christopher hath all the roome./

of the same./

Sir Francis and sir Philipe haue noe Tombe

Sir Christopher hath roome enough for 3.:

And they lye not soe for want of roome

or lacke of loue in their posteritie./

Who would from liuing hearts vntombe such ones,

to burie vnder a few Marble stones?

Vertues vye's not per thombe we neede not raise;

Let them trust tombes, *th*at haue outliu'd their praise./[66]

These three epitaphs merit being treated as a whole, as the compiler of Add 4138 intended, for the systematic way that they dismantle Hatton's tomb and legacy is in no small part a consequence of the way in which they are copied together. The first epitaph ridicules the elaborate nature of the tomb itself – 'gold', not mere 'brasse', before moving on to the man interred there, a 'siluer asse' while alive, and a 'golden calfe' now dead, inspiring blasphemous awe at the altar of St Paul's. Hatton is posthumously condemned for pride and folly, but unlike the scaffold narratives that bypass the injunction against speaking ill of the dead by presenting them as an example by which the living might learn to do better, Hatton is a merely a 'siluer asse', an extravagant, laughable false idol.

The following two epitaphs enact a sublimation of Hatton's importance and identity by bringing to the forefront two other prominent courtiers, Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Philip Sidney, blaming the minimalist state of their burials on the sheer size of Hatton's tomb. The first of these poems is described by Scott Newstok as an 'anti-epitaph', gesturing not *towards* the tomb where a 'here lies' is

[66] CUL, MS Add. 4138, fols. 47^{v}-48^{r}.

expected, but instead *away* from it, to the neighbouring tombs that find themselves cramped alongside Hatton's excessive monument.[67] The couplet appears in John Stow's *Survey of London*, where Stow records it as the graffiti of some 'mery Poet' on Hatton's tomb itself, suggesting that the extravagance of the monument was even undermined on the tomb itself, not simply in the contrived paper graveyard of a distant manuscript.[68] Nonetheless, having already been the subject of two poems on this page, Hatton continues to take up more 'room' in the manuscript, with a final epitaph offering further commentary on the unnecessary size of Hatton's monument. The last poem repeats that 'Sir Francis' and 'Sir Philipe' have no tomb while Hatton 'hath roome enough for 3', yet while this may appear an unreasonable theft of space from more worthy peers, the final anti-epitaph challenges its companion piece by claiming that the lack of tomb for Walsingham and Sidney is *not* for 'want of room' or for 'lacke of loue in their posteritie' at all. Instead, the poet claims, these men are more rightly entombed in 'liuing hearts', and to encase them in marble would represent a shameful disinterment to a tomb of inferior quality. The stinging final line completes the libel, claiming that only those who have 'outliu'd their praise' find a need to rely on marble to preserve their status, with Hatton clearly regarded as one who has not only done so, but to an embarrassing extreme. These short, biting poems highlight Hatton's legacy in terms of avarice and folly, but refuse to even grant him the status of a cautionary tale, and instead progressively de-centralise him from his own narrative in favour of other famous figures that the authors deem more deserving of the praise normally offered by an epitaph. Hatton is suitably punished for his pride by being made subject to the achievements of others.

While the epitaphs for Hatton tease out the embarrassing sins of pride, avarice, and folly by mocking his expensive tomb and giving praise to others around him, other libellous epitaphs take a much more direct approach to meting out justice. Mervin Touchet, second earl of Castlehaven (d. 1631) was

[67] Scott L. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 38.
[68] John Stow, *A Suruay of London* (London: John Windet for Iohn Wolfe, 1598), p. 263 [273], sig. T1^{r}; *STC* (2nd ed.) 23341. Accessed via <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99853096e> [Accessed 25 November 2020].

embroiled in one of the biggest early modern scandals to rock the aristocracy, and he was unsurprisingly the subject of numerous libels, including a libellous epitaph.[69] The Castlehaven scandal begins with a dispute between the earl and his son, James, Lord Audley. Castlehaven had offered 'excessive generosity' to his favourite, Henry Skipwith, who was then found to be involved with Audley's wife, Elizabeth (though whether or not Elizabeth was a willing party to this is not clear from extant records). The matter was brought to the attention of the king by Castlehaven's son, who petitioned him in the 'hope to find him a father when my own forsakes me'.[70] Biographer Cynthia Herrup describes how 'Between November 1630 and April 1631 what began as familial tension over property broadened into a story that implicated virtually everyone at Fonthill Gifford in disorder, promiscuity, or pandering'.[71] Castlehaven was brought to trial on evidence of crimes that the Privy Council regarded as 'too horrid for a Christian man to mention'.[72] As well as standing accused of acts of sodomy with his servants, Castlehaven also faced a charge of felony for rape, having apparently helped one of his servants to rape his wife, Lady Anne. Herrup describes the trial, conviction, and ultimately, the execution of Castlehaven and two of his associates as 'the greatest moral scandal of his day', but is keen to emphasise in her 'Redux' of the case that Castlehaven's guilt is a matter of some ambiguity.[73] Defying the convention for repentant scaffold speeches, the earl himself professed his innocence to the end, citing the legal flaws in the case against him (all of his accusers stood to benefit from his death, for example) and characterising himself as the victim of his wife and son's

[69] Castlehaven's case was certainly not the only sexualised scandal to achieve such notoriety – for example, those who are familiar with the Carr-Overbury scandal may be surprised not to see it represented here. While libels against Robert Carr and his wife Frances (née Howard) are common, these do not typically take the form of epitaphs. Bellany's *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* addresses the texts that circulated about this case in detail.

[70] TNA: PRO, SP 16/175/2 'Letters and Papers, Nov 1630', cited in Cynthia B. Herrup, 'Touchet, Mervin, second earl of Castlehaven (1593–1631), convicted rapist and sodomite' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004). Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66794> [accessed 25 November 2020].

[71] Northants. Record Office, Isham-Lamport MS 3339, p. 12, cited in Herrup, 'Touchet, Mervin, second earl of Castlehaven (1593–1631), convicted rapist and sodomite' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66794> [accessed 25 November 2020].

[72] Herrup, 'Touchet, Mervin', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[73] Cynthia B. Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.1-6.

greed. The verdicts were not unanimous (only a majority was required for a conviction) and it seems unlikely that there will ever be clear evidence to conclusively demonstrate either Castlehaven's innocence or guilt.[74]

Libels against the scandalous duke abounded, but at least one writer uses a libellous epitaph to redress the earl's wrecked reputation and redirect the outrage the case caused onto the earl's wife. The epitaph is written in the disgraced earl's voice, and repeats many of the contentions that Castlehaven had against his conviction while alive. A short version of the epitaph exists (beginning at the line 'I need no trophies to adorn my hearse'), but BL Lansdowne 491 is sole witness to a longer text that defies the conventions of brevity, and includes something more akin to a 'dying speech' as part of the epitaph. The full text reads:

> My life is done my heart prepard for death
> My trust in God who first did give me breath.
> My saviour Christ hath paid my debt, and I
> Am free from death and hell eternally.
> And yet my heart from sorrow is not free
> To thinke that my owne flesh should injure mee.
> My flesh and blood from flesh and blood is parted,
> Wee once were one but now are double hearted.
> My ill from evill sprong and malice wrought
> My sinfull action which was first in thought.
> And what remaines in after age to blame mee
> My flesh and blood did worke my death to shame mee
> Ah whorish flesh what more is to bee knowne
> To thy disgrace more then to name mine owne.
> I need noe Tropheys to adorne my hearse
> My wife exalts my hornes in every verse,
> And placed hath soe fully on my tombe,
> that for my armes is left no vacant roome.
> Who would take such a Countesse to his bed,

[74] Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder*, p.3.

That first gives hornes and then cutts of his head.[75]

The poem combines two traditional forms of death discourse to offer Castlehaven a formalised dying speech and an epitaph which each serve to transpose blame from Castlehaven and onto his wife and son, while minimising the more salacious details of Castlehaven's trial. Herrup notes that in the short version of the epitaph, 'Gone were rape and sodomy, disinheritance and patriarchal irresponsibility. In their places was a simple argument between husband and wife', with the longer version also implicating Castlehaven's son.[76] Where the court case described the earl's actions as too 'horrid' for words, here, the earl is the hapless and helpless victim of a wife and son's monstrous behaviour, demanding pity of the reader rather than revulsion. The longer version of the poem takes us from dying words, to funerary procession, to tomb, at each stage imaginatively inscribing the formal accoutrements of death with accusations against Lord Audley and Lady Anne, and the insistence that justice has not been carried out.

The speech-epitaph attempts to claim that any sin of Castlehaven's is if not negated by the moral bankruptcy of his wife and son, then it is at least of less consequence than their betrayal of him. It is easy to see the appeal of such a text in the often explicitly male and misogynistic environment of commonplace book circulation – the text serves as a warning against women's inconstancy, and their dangerous ability to damage a man's social reputation through their infidelity. However, the short version of the epitaph for Castlehaven does not always circulate alone, and in many cases, a fictionalised Lady Anne is offered the opportunity to respond to the supposed 'Earl's' accusations. Both recorded answer poems place the blame for the earl's infamy squarely back onto his own shoulders, recalling the details of the accusations against him that the first epitaph worked so hard to elide, and work into a narrative of filial disobedience rather than patriarchal abuse.

[75] 'Q4 My life is done my heart prepard for death', in 'Early Stuart Libels' ed. by Bellany and McRae. Accessed via <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/castlehaven_section/Q4.html> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[76] Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder*, p.121.

The text that the Early Stuart Libels project records as 'Q7' directly answers the charges of the short-form epitaph with a set of accusations of its own, though it is somewhat cagey about the identification of its speaker. The poem reads:

"An answere"
Its true you need noe trophees to your hearse
Your life beinge odious farr beneath all verse
Nor wast your wife who came chast to your bedd
which did you horne, your owne hands horn'd your head;
Twas fitt your head should off then as all conster
That you who livde soe, should soe dye a monster.[77]

The accusatory tone directly addresses the earl as if living, the steady drumbeat of 'you' and 'your' driving home the attacks on the earl's character. Where the epitaph for Castlehaven makes him an unwilling and shamed cuckold at the mercy of his adulterous wife, the answer poem responds by drawing attention to the felony for which the earl was convicted, where he was said to have deliberately aided a manservant in raping his wife. While the speaker is clearly sympathetic with the wife's position and believing of the charges against the earl, if the speaker *is* Lady Anne, then she is speaking in the third person in line 3, when she refers to 'your wife who came chast to your bedd'.

The other answer-poem, titled 'The Ladyes answere' identifies Lady Anne much more clearly as the speaker, to enormous emotional effect:

Blame not thy wife, for what thy selfe hath wrought
Thou causd thy hornes in forcing me to nought
For hadst thou beene but human, not A Beast
Thy Armes had bene Supportors to thy Creast
Nor needst you yet have had A Tombe, or Hearse
Besmear'd with thy sensuall life in verse
Who then would take such A Lord unto her bedd

[77] 'Q7 Its true you need noe trophees to your hearse' in 'Early Stuart Libels', ed. by Bellany and McRae. Accessed via <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/castlehaven_section/Q7.html> [accessed 25 November 2020].

That to gaine hornes himsefe, would loose his head[78]

While the opening line similarly refers to 'your wife', the second line devastatingly refers to the experience of rape in the first person, as our imaginary Lady Anne describes her husband 'forcing me'. If Castlehaven is without crest or arms in his final resting place, then this has come about as the direct result of abuse, not indirectly through the machinations of a lustful and sexually incontinent wife. This first-person narrative returns the wife to the status of victim, not perpetrator, and directly challenges the scathing closing couplet of the earl's own first person narrative – while he asks, 'Who would take such a Countesse to his bed, | That first gives hornes and then cutts of his head', his wife retorts, what woman would take unto *her* bed a man both cruel and foolish enough 'That to gaine hornes himsefe, would loose his head'. By acting as a direct response to an epitaph, these answer-poems assert themselves as the rightful texts to be found on the earl's hearse and tomb, summarising his life not in terms of noble blood, acts of charity, fatherhood, piety, or great achievement, but in the same terms as he is framed in his entry to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 'convicted rapist and sodomite'.[79]

IV: Bodily Identities and Libels Against Women

It is a testament to the strength of feeling against the earl of Castlehaven that defences of his wife enter circulation in this way – the providence of royal pardons for the Countess and her daughter call into question the extent to which these women were regarded as willing participants in the debauched goings-on at Fonthill Gifford (as some of the testimonies given at the trial seemed to suggest). However the earl's conviction and disgrace did not necessarily ensure sympathy for the women who had been involved in a scandal of the most sexual nature, even if they were themselves victims. Generally speaking, in the cases where the subject of a libellous epitaph is female, these deviants are often characterised as representative of the weaknesses of their entire sex, without reservation.

[78] 'Q6 Blame not thy wife, for what thy selfe hath wrought' in 'Early Stuart Libels', ed. by Bellany and McRae. Accessed via <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/castlehaven_section/Q6.html> [accessed 25 November].
[79] Herrup, 'Touchet, Mervin' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Libellous epitaphs against these women represent them as a 'type' to be warned against, as well as detracting from their individual reputations. This approach to post-mortem truth-telling serves an important social role besides 'putting the dead in their place', as seen above, as it serves to inspire readers towards morality. Herzog describes opponents to *de mortuis* as placing an 'emphasis on the social value of criticizing dead public figures' necessary to keep the public wary of facing such posthumous condemnation themselves. Herzog's discussion of the ethics of posthumous libel explains that this argument supposes that 'prospective thieves, murderers, tyrants and lechers can be deterred if they believe *de mortuis* will not protect their reputations once they're dead', and therefore 'not only will free discussion of the dead's vices sharpen our moral understanding; it also will lead people to behave better'.[80] Libels potentially serve as a regulatory force, discouraging socially inappropriate behaviour.

One of the most readily vilified women of the early Stuart era, Lady Mary Lake (d. 1643), comes in for this treatment in the mock-epitaphs that circulate in manuscript about her. One popular example offers up a catalogue of pejoratives to be applied to her, only to finally conclude that the woman interred in this mock grave is worse than all of these together:

> Vpon Infamous Ladie Lake.
>
> Here's *th*[e] brest of badnesse; vices Nurse:
> The badge of vsurie; the Cleargies Curse:
> The staine of womankind; Trademens decaye;
> the patronesse of pride; extortio*n* high waye;
> The forge of slander; bawde of each bad action:
> freind to Romes whore, spie to *th*[e] Spanish factio*n*:
> A bitch of Court: a com*m*on pose'nous snake:

[80] Herzog, *Defaming the Dead*, pp.78-80.

worse then all theis, here lyes *th*[e] La*dy* Lake./ [81]

One copy of the poem titles the text 'Encomium infamissime et infande Cuiusdam Mulieris ignote', for which the Early Stuart Libels database offers the translation, 'In praise of a certain unknown, infamous, unspeakable woman', suggesting that her crimes are so rank that they make her name unspeakable in anything other than the body of the libel itself.[82]

Lady Lake is subjected to this virulent criticism for her involvement in an exceptionally seedy scandal through her daughter's marriage to William Cecil, Sixteenth Baron Ros (sometimes 'Roos'). Ros married Anne Lake in 1616, but the Ros marriage was not destined to be a happy one, for apparently both personal and financial reasons. Ros was pressured by his in-laws to sign over the manor of Walthamstow to Lake and her heirs, as well as to pawn other lands. Ros' father-in-law, Thomas Lake, was secretary of state and appears to have applied political pressure to Ros, while his wife and mother-in-law reportedly blackmailed Ros by threatening him with a charge of impotence, which could lead to a potentially embarrassing case to sue for a nullity of the marriage. As tensions mounted, Ros fled to Europe, while his grandfather, Thomas Cecil, earl of Exeter, attempted to protect his interests at home. The Lakes then responded by escalating matters further, claiming that Exeter's young wife, Frances Cecil, was not only having an affair with Baron Ros, but that she had also attempted to poison Lady Ros. This was ultimately one step too far, as the earl and countess of Essex appealed to King James and their suit was brought in Star Chamber in 1619. The Lakes were found guilty of defamation, and were fined and imprisoned in the Tower. By this time, Baron Ros had already died on the continent. Lady Ros made a confession after a few months of imprisonment and was promptly released – Lady Lake was released in 1620, but made no confession until May 1621.[83]

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[81] CUL, MS Add. 4138, fol. 47[v].

[82] 'J3 Heere lyes the breife of badnes vices nurse' in 'Early Stuart Libels', ed. by Bellany and McRae. Accessed via <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/lake_roos_section/J3.html> [accessed 25 November 2020].

[83] For detailed descriptions of the entire scandal, see, 'J0. The Lake-Roos Affair (1617-1620)' in 'Early Stuart Libels', ed. by Bellany and McRae. <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/lake_roos_section/J0.html> [accessed 25 November 2020], and Alastair Bellany, 'Cecil, William, sixteenth Baron Ros (1590–1618), courtier and ambassador' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2006). Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/70619> [accessed accessed 25 November 2020].

The libel's invective against Lady Lake offers a catalogue of her crimes – 'vsurie', 'extortion', and 'slander' all make an appearance, but the libel does more than simply cycle through the crimes for which Lady Lake was convicted. Here, it offers, is the 'brest of badnesse; vices Nurse', making her crime not simply one of wilful cruelty against her son-in-law, but an intrinsic bodily function. The libel brings to the fore her role as a mother, but here, it is a corrupted and corrupting body which calls to mind the way in which her daughter was equally implicated in the scandal. While there is nothing novel in calling to mind mankind's fall from grace in misogynist discourse, the poet's choice to call Lady Lake the 'snake' paints her as worse than even Eve herself. Lake is not simply the woman foolish enough to be tempted, but here she is cast in the role of the tempter, an assessment ratified by the King himself, who compared Lake to the snake in the Garden of Eden.[84] Worse than even the worst of women, Lake inspires other women to infamy, and these heaped accusations make her an affront to womanhood itself, the very 'staine of womankind'. The last, stinging insult in the libel is the claim that the lady Lake is yet somehow 'worse' than the sum of her criminal parts, deferring the 'here lies' statement to the very end of the epitaph in order to give this rhetorical blow its full force. Perhaps most painfully of all, one copy of the poem offers that this epitaph was placed 'uppon the Ladie Lakes Dore' during her imprisonment, suggesting its circulation well in advance of her death - and if this inscription is to be believed - implying its use as both a taunt to Lake herself, and a warning to others as to the corrupting nature of the woman confined within.[85] The explicitly moralistic tone of the libel centres female embodiment as the source of the scandal, and situates itself as the salve for this corruption.

Not all epitaphs for women are so descriptive of their crimes, but similar steps may still be taken to characterise their infirmities as specifically female, and to ensure that their reputation is damaged. An epitaph for Catherine de Medici compares her to the 'Three Furies' who live in hell, and claims:

[84] 'J3 Heere lyes the breife of badnes vices nurse' in 'Early Stuart Libels', ed. by Bellany and McRae. Accessed via <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/lake_roos_section/J3.html> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[85] 'J3 Heere lyes the breife of badnes vices nurse' in 'Early Stuart Libels', ed. by Bellany and McRae. Accessed via <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/lake_roos_section/J3.html> [accessed 25 November 2020].

But y<t>f that hell, these three shoulde sell:

And lett them loose, abyde

Thys laste woulde bee, enoughe for three.

and thousande suche beside<s>.[86]

The poem offers us no details as to why Medici has earned a place in hell more depraved than all the three Furies combined, though her ruthless and Machiavellian political career surely provided many examples, most notably her involvement in the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in which thousands of Huguenot Protestants were killed. Instead, it offers us a model of monstrous femininity in the form of the Furies and the human woman who apparently earns her place alongside them.

Sexual impropriety is also a ripe subject for libel, and these epitaphs could be particularly cruel in their deconstruction of a person's character. Just as the sequence of epitaphs for Sir Christopher Hatton gradually decentralises Hatton from his own supposed monument, so Marcy L. North charts a similar effect in a cluster of libellous epitaphs for Lady Penelope Devereux Rich in Folger MS V.a.345. Lady Penelope's life lends itself easily to the largely male, largely misogynistic environment of commonplace book libels. Born into the prominent Essex family, Penelope Devereux was beautiful and well-educated, and quickly dazzled the Elizabethan court when she became one of the Queen's maids of honour in 1581. That same year, she was married to Robert Rich, and is widely recognised as the unattainable, beautiful 'Stella' of Philip Sidney's 'Astrophil and Stella'. By 1590, Lady Penelope was quite publicly engaged in an affair with Sir Charles Blount, with whom she had six children. In 1605 her marriage to Rich was dissolved on the basis of her well-publicised adultery, but this did not leave her at liberty to remarry while her former husband remained living. Nonetheless, by December 1605,

[86] CUL, MS Add. 57, fol. 62^{r}.

Devonshire's chaplain, William Laud, married her and Blount, without royal assent. Blount died just months later, and the Lady Penelope herself died in 1607.[87]

Folger v.a.345 offers three epitaphs in rapid succession that offer commentary on Rich's lengthy affair with Charles Blount, punning on the use of 'stone' to refer to both 'gravestone' and 'testicles'. The first, and longest of the poems first calls upon the ambiguity of Lady Penelope's status as both 'Lady Rich' through her marriage to Robert Rich, earl of Warwick, and 'Countess of Devonshire' through her bigamous marriage to Blount (who had been appointed earl of Devonshire). This accusation circulates as a couplet (as in CUL MS Add. 9221, fol. 99^{v}) as well as a four line poem which then wonderingly turns to Rich's burial, remarking, 'One stone contents her, loe *what* death can doe | That in her life was not content *with* two'.[88] The two subsequent poems continue in this vein, one offering surprise at her interment under just one stone, the other directing concern that 'At *the* name of stone she'l rise againe I feare'.[89] The clustering of these texts pushes Rich to the margins of her own imaginary epitaph, defined only by her supposed sexual voraciousness, but more than this, North also notes that alongside the anonymising effect of the series of epitaphs, the second of the poems is often copied simply under the heading 'Epitaph on a Whore' in a textual tradition that circulates entirely separately to commentary on Lady Penelope specifically. The combined effect is to reduce the once-celebrated noblewoman to 'a nameless whore'.[90] This approach to libelling the countess connects her more closely to the tradition of mock epitaphs for tradesmen than it does to any text typically associated with someone of her status, collapsing a long and storied life into a strained repetition of sexual puns.

[87] Alison Wall, 'Rich [née Devereux], Penelope, Lady Rich (1563–1607), noblewoman' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2013). Accessed via <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23490> [accessed 25 November 2020].
[88] Marcy L. North, 'Anonymity in Early Modern Manuscript Culture: Finding a Purposeful Convention in a Ubiquitous Condition' in *Anonymity in Early Modern England: "What's in a Name?"* ed. by Janet Wright Starner and Barbara Howard Traister (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp.13-42 (p. 21).
[89] North, 'Anonymity in Early Modern Manuscript Culture', p.21.
[90] North, 'Anonymity in Early Modern Manuscript Culture', p.21.

Not all libellers require so much real estate in their manuscripts to do the same work. Collected amongst the many short and biting libels in CUL Add MS 4138 is the single, painful couplet (notably crossed out by a later reader):

> Here lies Iohn Chidley, and S*i*[r] Charles Blunt,
>
> the one lou'd a horse, the othe[r] a C*unt*./[91]

The 'John Chidley' named in this epitaph is potentially John Chudleigh, who made regular appearances in the accession day tilt lists until his death at sea in 1589, but the Charles Blunt here is most likely Charles Blount, the Earl of Devonshire.[92] The reference to Lady Penelope is clear, yet in this text she is nameless, comparable to a beast of burden, and reduced merely to her genitals. Her female embodiment is all that is required for the libel to function, and is all that is required to make her long-term partner the subject of an embarrassing verse. In either case – the steady stripping down of identity or the rapid plunge into obscurity, the warning is clear – moral degeneracy of this type will be met with the systematic destruction of post-mortem identity. No clear record of Lady Penelope's burial exists, no glorious tomb monument (as Cecil enjoyed) was erected to defend her reputation or to recount her glory days as Sidney's 'Stella'. Deprived of status, Lady Penelope is only commemorated in the libels which cast her life as a cautionary tale of what happens to rebellious women, and the men who place their own reputations at stake by associating with them.

Conclusion

As a general maxim, the appeal to speaking no ill of the dead is a valuable reminder of the generally vulnerable state of the dead. Rather than an outright prohibition though, when it comes to epitaph writing, especially in manuscript, it stands more as a question of whether or not the value of speaking badly of the deceased is greater than the stigma against it. As we have seen, there is no shortage of

[91] CUL, MS Add. 4138, fol. 48[v].

[92] See Roy C. Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), pp.206-7 for details of the tilt lists. John Chidley appears in the lists for 1585, 1586, 1587 and competes alongside Blount in 1588.

cases in which writers have felt that the balance has tipped in favour of speaking out, rather than hushing up. Very often, these poems engage directly with conventions of praise in order to justify their case for libelling - when a full catalogue of negative claims can be made in this way, to offer traditional praise begins to feel like an act of rank hypocrisy that brings dishonour to the living, and no genuine honour to the dead. As such, this chapter articulates a significant body of material that violates a longstanding taboo about speaking ill of the dead – one of the greatest strictures of the genre of epitaphs. Due to their salacious nature, these poems are only typically accessible through early modern manuscript culture, and they represent one of the most conclusive ways in which epitaphs found in manuscripts can be considered a genre apart from those epitaphs which appear in more public fora.

While silence always remains an option, it is one with little appeal when faced with the opportunities presented by putting pen to paper. A fundamental premise of these texts is that there is a value to telling these stories, if one knows where to look for it. Many of the more 'serious' libels that toy with the reputations of grand members of state recognise the transactional nature of honour and virtue. Where praiseworthy members of the public have their reputations amplified and enhanced in value by the perpetuation of their epitaphs in manuscript, so the less savoury figures suffer damage and depreciation of their reputational value when libels circulate through the same channels. Though this may constitute an attack on vulnerable members of society (as discussed in Chapter 2, the commemorated dead remain very much a part of their living communities) important purposes can be served in doing so. Libellers often frame their work in terms of telling inconvenient truths – an uncomfortable, sometimes grubby task, but one which is nonetheless treated as necessary. The epitaphs for figures like Buckingham challenge the state-sanctioned roles played by Buckingham and his assassin, and the manuscript network lets fly a layered multiplicity of interpretations of the pair, while official channels permitted only the one. Manuscript circulation makes dissent possible, and when it comes to epitaphs, offers it the veneer of formality.

Where the focus on political libels has heretofore presented them as acts of rebellion, there is also (as is the case with the more explicitly comical epitaphs) a firmly socially conservative side to these texts. Social climbers like Christopher Hatton who are perceived as having reached substantially too high find themselves lowered by consensus in the paper graveyards constructed by the living society they have left behind, tempering their grandiose monuments with the hubris of public opinion. In cases where a figure has strayed substantially from approved models of behaviour, these libels often form a kind of posthumous punishment. Even if a reputation is agreed upon as sullied beyond repair – as is the case for the disgraced and executed Castlehaven – it is still important to ensure that such figures are aware that death, and the prohibition against speaking ill of the deceased, will not make their reputations untouchable, or even permitted to fade into obscurity. Such objections to aberrant behaviour find their natural peak in the representation of women in libellous discourse. Their bodies are configured as monstrous and strange, creatures who are both the bringers and the bearers of disgrace for themselves and those who associate with them. As we see in Chapter 3, especially when wit or humour come into play, to be superior is to be masculine, and libellers do not hesitate to take a similar stance when it comes to addressing the sins of women.

Last of all, while it is always possible to ascribe greater, socially conscious meanings to these poems, it is important to remember that there is sometimes simply pleasure to be had in composing, circulating and collecting libellous material. While we cannot know whether individual compilers found the material they wrote down to be distasteful, it would be unwise to overlook the sense of gratification that the overwhelming quantity of vituperative verse against Buckingham suggests, or to ignore the satisfaction that must have been taken in the witty, though unkind, wordplay found in the epitaphs for Lady Penelope Devereux Rich. It is very often difficult to separate the 'libellous' from the 'comic' material, an aspect of these verses that is often subsumed into the discourse of scandal, politics, and resistance. While not without danger to the collector, manuscript offers a playful freedom with which to use and abuse the epitaph genre, rewriting the life stories of the great, good, and downright scandalous alike.

CONCLUSIONS: AN EXCURSION INTO THE PAPER GRAVEYARD

This thesis began with questions about how relationships between the living and the dead are negotiated in manuscript epitaphs, and how manuscripts act as distinctive witnesses to epitaphs compared to those found in other media. In the course of uncovering those distinguishing features of manuscript epitaphs, I have regularly offered the concept of a 'paper graveyard' – an imaginative, creative, or substitute memorial space carved out in paper instead of stone – as a sort of unifying concept between otherwise remarkably diverse collections of epitaphs in manuscripts. It is to this concept of the flexible memorial environment that I return in the concluding part of this thesis. The paper graveyard of a compiler's own devising offers each manuscript writer an opportunity to choose whether to re-structure the social hierarchy or uphold it, whether to maintain the dignity of the dead or undermine it. In doing so, these collections inspire new conversations amongst themselves about grief, loss, authority, and reputation according to the desires of the writer. As such, manuscript epitaphs offer us a much more familiar and informal sense of how the living choose to connect with the dead, uncovering a relationship that is remarkably reciprocal and lively in comparison to the type of relationship disclosed by tomb monuments. The embodiment of a grave automatically calls to mind the clear separation between the living and the dead, highlighting those incontrovertible differences between a subterranean community captive under stone, and the living readers who encounter their epitaphs upon it. The distance afforded by manuscript offers the combination of a comparatively private level of discourse and a separation from the hallowed space of a grave, giving imaginative permission to connect with the dead in ways that are highly personalised, and often closely aligned with life-like relationships.

These are poems which in spite of the divide between the living and the dead manage to sustain dialogue between living and dead parties, adroitly negotiating the competing demands of a rapidly evolving theological landscape, and the need for consolation and closeness to departed friends, family, and public figures. The dead are spoken to, but also often called upon to speak for themselves

in a discursive environment that allows space for grief to be worked through collaboratively. This collaboration often involves the living and grieving individual, the deceased, and the community at large. Manuscript epitaphs also engage in humour when recounting deaths, to various effects. In some cases these are purely comical endeavours that bear no significant connection to a real bereavement, but in others, real community losses are met with the same kind of jovial remarks as perhaps followed them in life. Butlers are celebrated for their well-kept pantries and generosity at the buttery hatch, and community figures like Thomas Hobson are bid farewell with respectful, yet jesting epitaphs that pun on his role as a 'man not learned, yet a ma*n* of letters'.[1] Even the passing of monarchs is not immune to punning jests, indicating a levelling need for many types of loss to be met with at the very least, a wry smile. Black humour, and the use of laughter as a relief from painful feelings is well documented in the literary, medical, and religious discourse of the period, but it is also suggestive of a desire to retain something of the qualities of a relationship with the living, in which easy banter can be exchanged. Comical epitaphs have only a tenuous hold in the graveyard, and alongside these poems we can also count libellous epitaphs as texts that find their most natural home in manuscript. These libels demonstrate that epitaph composers of this period held no issue with broaching taboos about speaking ill of the dead when provided with an environment in which to freely do so. Sometimes this is a very socially conservative impulse that puts the dishonourable dead 'in their place', so to speak; sometimes it more wilfully drags them down. In either case, this final area of study provides the most conclusive evidence that manuscript epitaphs are a genre apart, with an entirely different set of expectations that guide their content and their use. By and large, representations of the dead in manuscripts are an inconsistent bunch – messy, unreliable, and untidy, sometimes very literally haphazard on the written page. It is this variability which makes these texts so special, and so instructive, and indeed, so paradoxically life-like.

[1] CUL, MS Add. 57, fols. 95^{r-v}.

By considering manuscript epitaphs as a genre apart, this thesis has made fairly few gestures towards connecting the poems included in the study with more canonical works of early modern literature, but this does not mean it is not possible, or desirable to do so. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, much of the black humour found in these poems has close points of reference in early modern drama, and motifs appearing in manuscript epitaphs also cross-pollinate the more serious scenes of staged mourning. We may also consider more famous epitaphs by well-known figures as rightly belonging in a much larger field of epitaph composition than single-author focused studies give credit for, perhaps allowing for a re-appraisal of poems like Ben Jonson's epitaphs for his children amongst the many other epitaphs for infants that circulated in his literary environment. One of the difficulties with integrating famous, canonical works with manuscript texts is our sense of landmark canonical works as existing in an enduring body of work, where instead, manuscript epitaphs are often happy to accept the potential impermanence of their use. Pinned to hearses or perhaps lowered into a grave alongside a corpse, the expressions of grief in handwritten epitaphs are characterised at least as much by their spontaneity and ephemeral nature as their endurance in commonplace circulation.

This concern is not exclusive to early modern grief, and I wish to close this thesis with a modern example of a similar phenomenon to those epitaphs which were composed and copied, re-situated, re-circulated, and re-framed by one user after another. In 2014, the death of the beloved actor and comedian Robin Williams was met with an outpouring of public grief. In the small hours of the morning after the news broke, Twitter user Nicholas Rabchenuk reported that the park bench that was movingly featured in the film 'Good Will Hunting' had become a sort of memorial to the late actor (see figure 6). In chalk, mourners had drawn the outline of a pair of feet where Williams had sat, and surrounded the bench with a series of quotations from his films. Within a short period of time, the bench and the entire footpath around it was covered in similar chalk memorials. Much like the epitaphs in manuscript that repeat the words 'here lies' even in the absence of a body, the mourners for Williams sought to give a sense of physical presence to their memorial, with Williams' imagined footprints marking his figurative place amongst the tributes.

These heartfelt expressions were never meant to last. Inscribed in chalk, the tributes to a beloved public figure (whom most of the mourners almost certainly had not met) would be washed away by foot traffic and weather, but for a short period, a park bench stood as tribute in a way that is reminiscent of the early modern hearse epitaphs that were only intended to serve the needs of the funeral. However, like these hearse epitaphs, the chalk inscriptions had another, second life in another form. Just as ephemeral texts were copied by verse compilers only to be re-copied, altered, given new detail, and re-contextualised to each compiler's own desires for that text, so images of the impromptu memorial made the leap to Twitter. At the time of writing, the initial image of the bench has well over a thousand 're-tweets', where other Twitter users have cited the image of the memorial, copied it to their own profile (often with a contextualising comment of their own), and distributed it to their followers. The need to express the experience of loss through a series of re-used and recycled expressions is not unique to our early modern counterparts, even if sometimes the way in which this textual transmission takes place often feels unfamiliar. As with the memorial to Williams, it is the translation of early modern epitaph compositions from a piece of ephemera into a permanent document that solidifies their place in an intangible graveyard in which one can imaginatively walk. On this fantasy stroll, one will encounter the ongoing memories of beloved family members, kings, queens, children, benefactors, scoundrels, and even the occasional dog, all resting – peacefully or otherwise - in the same creative space.

Figure 6: Nicholas Rabchenuk's image of the impromptu memorial to Robin Williams <https://twitter.com/rabbitnutz/status/499016991236431872>

EPILOGUE: A PAPER GRAVEYARD OF MY OWN

It is not for nothing that my acknowledgements express gratitude for the support I have received during times of intense personal difficulty. During the course of this PhD, our family has endured a number of painful bereavements. In the spirit of the 'paper graveyard' of the manuscript sources I have consulted, I offer a small paper graveyard of my own.

Alex Burgess, 2.4.1988 - 3.5.2012

The first time I took part in a graduation ceremony, I was followed immediately by my 'little shadow', Burgess. There were to be no more big celebrations for you, and you have been missing from most of the rest of mine. There should have been more. Just as I waited at the far end of the stage for us to link arms and find our seats together after graduating, please consider this me bringing you with me this time.

Iris Delilah Louise Wayland, 16.5.1924 – 10.7.2016

I am so sad that my Auntie Iris wasn't able to see this thesis finished, not least because I know how much mileage she'd have got out of telling everyone she knew all about it. I miss you Auntie, and I hope you're proud.

Gladys Mary Burgess, 29.3.1927 – 7.4.2017

Grandma was the listening ear for all of my earliest ideas for this thesis, and I know she would have been the first to toast its submission. If I am known as half as generous or kind as her when my time comes, I'll consider it a life well lived.

Derek John Avery, 3.11.1934 – 9.4.2019

My Grandad was my staunchest ally, and most enthusiastic cheerleader. We were inseparable partners in crime, and it has been immeasurably difficult to begin to imagine what life will be like going forward without the Head Gardener. He was terribly worried that the upheaval of his passing would come in the way of me finishing my PhD. It is with great pride that I can say I kept my last promise to him – here it is Grandad, a finished thesis.

Manuscripts Transcribed

Yale, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Osborn b205

Yale, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Osborn b356

London, British Library, Additional MS 21433 (partial transcription)

London, British Library, Additional MS 25707

London, British Library, Additional MS 30982

London, British Library, Additional MS 42849 (partial transcription)

London, British Library, Egerton MS 2877

London, British Library, Harley MS 6917

London, British Library, Sloane MS 2623

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Additional 57

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Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, Walter Ralegh, *History Of The World*, *STC* 20641 Copy 3

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Note on the Bibliography

In light of way in which this thesis regularly engages with historical sources, this bibliography is divided into primary and secondary sources for ease of reference. Primary sources are those dated before 1700.

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Appendix I – Epitaph Database

As it is not feasible to include the database in its entirety in this document, it can instead be accessed at the link below:

<https://doi.org/10.25411/aru.14229611>

Appendix II – Epitaph Transcriptions

Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library Osborn b205

1

fol. 6^{r}

Lachrymæ lachrymarum

A Funerall Elegie

Here lies dry eyes, read not this Epitaph
Here lies great britans stay & Iacobs staffe
The statly top bough of Imperiall stemme
worlds richest Iewel, natures rarest gem
Mirro^{r} of princes, Miracle of youth
all vertues pattern, patron of all truth
Refuge [of] armes ample reward of arts
worths comforter, milde conquerer [of] hearts
the churches [tower] *th*^{e} terro^{r} of *th*^{e} pope
Heroicke Henry, Atlas of o*u*^{r} hope
[elegy follows this epitaph]

2

fol. 9^{v}

An Epitaph

Whom all admird, whom [all] almost adord
For [all] *th*^{e} p*ar*^{tes} [of] [all] Pandora's treasure
The hope [of] [all] to [have] [all] good restord
Him, [all] o*u*^{r} ills [have] slaine by heauens Displeasure

Josuah Sylvester

3

fol. 29^{r}

On M*iste*^{r} Lancaster run thorow by a captaine.

To die is natures debt, and when
death workes asleep feeble old men
wee are not grieued; for why, they haue
An indisturbed peace in *th*^{e} graue;
or when if younger men worne out
w*i*th aches, agues, feuers gout,
so tamd with sickenes, and so spent
tha^{t} euen to liue were punishment
to shead a teare at their disease
were to repine and grudge *the*^{m} peace;
but when untimely death besets
man in his lustier yeres, nor lets
him passe his youth, enioy his age,
and so become ripe ere *th*^{e} rage
of sickenes tortures him, when man
liues not his litle time, his span
it were ingratitude not to moane
not to bestow a signe, a grone
yea - some spight to on those whose skill
whose surgery it is to kill
who only understand the state
of a cut finger or broken pate
as mighty wasters who where they come
make *th*^{e} itch mortall unto some
fol. 29^{v}
But when more blood by *th*^{e} cure is spilt
I hardly iudge where lyes *th*^{e} guilt.

who hath p*er*formd *th*[e] deadlier part
the captaines rapier, or their art.

4

fol. 31[v]

On the death of King Iames

All *tha*[t] haue eyes now wa<c>ke and weep
he whose waking was o*u*[r] sleepe
Is falne, a sleepe himselfe and neuer
shall wake againe till wake for euer
deaths Iron hand closd vp those eyes
tha[r] were at once three kingdoms spies
both for to see and to preuent
dangers as soone as they were ment
tha[t] head whose working braine alone
wrought all mens quiet but his owne
now lies at rest. oh let him haue
th[e] peace he lent vs to his graue.

5

fol. 33[v]

On *th*[e] death of an infant

As carful mothers will to bed soone lay
th[e] child *tha*[t] could to long *th*[e] wanton play
so to preuent my youths ensuing crimes
nature my nurse layd me to bed betimes

6

fol. 33^{v}

On a gentlewoman that had the small pox

A bewty smoother *th*^{en} *th*^{e} Iuory plaine
late by *th*^{e} pox iniuliously [sic.] was slaine
twas not *th*^{e} pox loue shot at thoug*sand* <….> ^darts^
and made those pits for graues to bury 4
now since *tha*^{t} bewty hath resignd hir zight
those hearts are double slaine it shines so bright

7

fol. 33^{v}

On a gentlewomans death

Nature in this small volume was about
to p*er*fect w*ha*^{t} in woman was left out
Yet care least a piece so well begun
should want preservas [?] w*he*^{n} she had don
ere she could finish w*ha*^{t} she vndertooke
threw dust vpont, - shut vp *th*^{e} booke

8

fol. 44^{r}

In Caluum

Here lies one w*i*th his head full bare
who w*i*th cathing of conies lost many a Hare.

9

fol. 44^{v}

Vpon Owen the buttler of Christ Church Oxoniæ

Why cruell death should honest Owen catch
into my mind it cannot easily sinke
Vnles that death came to *th*^{e} butry hatch
and honest Owen would not make him drink
ffaith Owen if twere so then twas thy fault
that death for want of drinke made thee his draught
Nor soe, nor soe, for Owen gaue him liquour
and death being drunke tooke him away the quicker
Yet merry lads let nothing grieue yo*u*^{r} minde
though owens gon hath left they keyes behind.

10

fol. 49^{r}

In Iuuenam defunctum

Now haue I run my race; and *wha*^{t} though <death> ^death^
though my swift race hath made me lose my ^breth^
A litle resting will the same restore
and make it immortall, to be lost no more
And whiles to rest my ^body^ here lies donne
my soule takes sweet possession of a crowne.

11

fol. 52^{v}

On the death of M*ist*^{ris} Mary Prideaux

Weepe not because this child hath died so yong
but weepe because yo*u*^{r} selues haue liud so longe
age is not fild by growth of time, for then
what old men liude to see *th*^{e} state of men
who reach *th*^{e} age of grand Methusalem.
ten yeers make vs as old as hundreds him
Ripenes is from o*u*^{r} selues & then wee die
When nature hath obtaind maturity
Summer and winter fruits there bee, and all
not att one time but being ripe must fall.
Death did not err *th*^{e} mourners are beguild
Shee died more like a mother then a childe
Weigh the composure of her prettie parts
hir grauitie in Childhood, all her arts
Of womanly behauio*u*^{r}, weigh her tounge
So wisely measurd, now nor short nor long
adde to her tender youth some riches more
Shee tooke vp now what was dew was at 3 score
Shee liud 7 yeers, o*u*^{r} ages first degree
Iourneys <..> at first intended happy bee.
Yet take her stature w*i*th *th*^{e} age of man
they well are fitted, both are but a span.

12

fol. 52^{v}

De infant im*m*atum^ morte perempta.

As carefull mothers to their beds do lay
their babes which would to long *th*^{e} wantons ^play^
so to p*re*vent my youths ensuing crimes
Nature my nurse layd me to bed betimes

13

fol. 59^{v}

An Epitaph

Behind this brazen plate these ashes lies
w*hi*ch are the embers of eternity,
No embers had more Sparkes of fire *th*^{en} she
had lights of virtue, now asleepe *the*^{y} be.
but yet shall wake againe & like *th*^{e} sun
their rayse shall burne w*i*^{thout} consumption

14

fol. 60^{r}

An Epitaph on M*ist*^{ris} Eliz*abeth* Nedham

As sin makes gros *th*^{e} soule, & thickens it
To fleshly dulnes, so *th*^{e} spottles white
Of virgin purenes made thy flesh as cleere
As other soules: thou couldst not tarry here
All soule in both p*ar*^{ts}, & what could it be
the resurrection should bestow on thee
already glorious thine innocence.

that better shroud sent *th*^{ee} dep*ar*ting hence
as s*ain*^{ts} shall rise, yet he whose bounty may
enlighten *th*^{e} bright sun w*i*th double day,
and make it more outshine it selfe. *th*^{en} now
It can *th*^{e} moone, shall decke thy varnisht brow
w*i*th light, aboue *th*^{e} sun, when thou shalt bee
no lower in thy place *th*^{en} maiestie
Crownd w*i*th a virgins wreath, out passing [.]
th^{e} s*ain*^{ts} as much as thou didst mortalls here
be this thy hope, & while thy ashes lie
asleepe in dust dreame of eternity.

15

fol. 60^{v}

An Epitaph

Man newly borne is at full age to die,
but not to liue till *th*^{e} minority
of thrice 7 yeeres be past, & must thou [.]
Iust then w*he*^{n} thou wert ripe for life, must all
that spring of former hopes grow to be lopt
amidst their triumph? So *th*^{e} rose is cropt
As soones as blowne, hadst thou les fragrant bin
witherd in soule or furrowd in thy skin
Thou mightst neglectedly haue dropt fro*m* hens
Now heauen thee pulls, thou it w*i*th violence.

16

fol. 61^{v}

on one that died of an impostume in the head

Is death so cunning now, *tha*^{t} all her blow
aimes at the head? doth now her wary bow
make surer worke *th*^{en} heretofore the steele
Slew stout Achilles only in the heele,
now find out sleights, when men *th*^{em}selues begin
To bee their p*roper* fates by new found sin.
fol. 62^{r}
Tis cowardice to make a wound so sure
No art in killing, where no art can cure.
was it for hate of learninge *tha*^{t} she smote
this upper shopp where all the Muses wrought
learning shall crosse her drift and dayly try
all wayes and meanes of immortallity.
because her head was crusht doth she desire
our equall shame, in vaine shee doth aspire
noe, no we know where ere she make a <tryall> ^breach^
her poysnous sting only *th*^{e} heele can reach.
looke on *th*^{e} soule of man, *th*^{e} very heart,
the head it selfe is but a lower part.
yet hath shee straynd her vtmost tyrany
and don her worst in that she came so high.
had she reserud this stroke for haughty men
for politique contriuers iustly then
the punishment were matcht w*i*th *th*^{e} offence,
but when humility & innocence
so indiscreetly in the head are hitt
death hath done murther and shall die for it

thinke it no fauo*u*^{r} showne, because *th*^{e} braine
Is voyd of sence, & *th*^{en} more free from paine
thinke it no kindness, w*he*^{n} so stealingly
he rather semd to shrinke away *th*^{en} dye
and like *th*^{e} innocent, the widowes child
cried out, my head, my head, and died
Thinke it was rather double cruelty
slaughter intended on his name, *tha*^{t} he.
whose thoughts wer nothing tainted nothing ^vaine^
might seeme to hide corruption in his braine:
fol. 62^{v}
how easy might this blot be wip'd away
If any pen his worth could open lay.
for w*hi*^{ch} those harlot prayses w*hi*^{ch} we reare
on common dust, as to much slender were
as great for others, boasting elegies
aust here be dumb, desert *tha*^{t} ouerweighs
all our reward, stops all o*u*^{r} prayse, least we
might seeme to giue alike to them & thee.
wherefore an humble verse, & such a straine
As mine will hide *th*^{e} truth, w*hi*^{ch} others faine.

17

fol. 62^{v}

On the death of a twinne

Where are you now astrologers *tha*^{t} looke
for petty accidents in heauens boo ks.
2 twins to whom one influence gaue breath
differ in (more *th*^{en} fortune) life <&> or death
while both were warmd (for *tha*^{t} was all *th*.^{ey} were)

vnles some feeble cry sayd life was there)
by warring change of health, *th*^{ey} seem to try
w*hi*^{ch} of those two must liue, for one must die,
as if one soule allotted to sustaine
that lump w*hi*^{ch} afterward was <put> ^cut^ in twaine
now serud them both, whose limited restraint
from double vertue made them both so faint
but w*he*^{n} *tha*^{t} common soule away should flie
death hitting one expected both should die.
She hitt, & was deceiud *tha*^{t} other part
when to supply *th*^{e} weake suruiuers heart.
so death wher she was cruell seemd most mild^e^
she aimd att two & kild but halfe a Child.

18

fol. 63^{r}

On the death of the lady Cæsar

Though death to good men be *th*^{e} greatest boone
I can't but thinke this lady died to soone.
She should haue liud for <..> ^others^ poore mens want
should make her stand, though she her & wold <…> ^faynt^
w*ha*^{t} tho her virtuous deede did make her seeme
of equall age w*i*th old Methusalem.
She should haue li'd *th*^{e} more, & ere she fell
haue stretcht her litle span into an ell.
May we not thinke her in a sleepe or sound
Or that she only tirde her bed of ground.
besides *th*^{e} life of fame is she all dead
as dead as virtue w*hi*^{ch} together fedd
as dead as men w*i*th*ou*^{t} it, & as cold

as charity, *tha*^{t} long agoe grew old.
those eyes of perle are vnder marble set
and now *th*^{e} graue is made *th*^{e} cabinet.
10 or a 100 doe not loose by this
but all mankind doth an example misse
A litle earth cast vp betweene her light
and vs Eclypseth all the world w*i*th night.
w*ha*^{t} ere disease to flatter greedy death,
hath stopt the organ of such harmles breath
may it bee knowne by a more hatefull name
then now *th*^{e} plauge is, & to quell *th*^{e} same
may all physitians haue an honest <skill> ^wille^
may pothecaries learne *th*^{e} doctors skill
may wandring Mountebanks; (& w*hi*^{ch} is worse
may an old womans medcine haue the force
fol. 63^{v}
to vanquish it & make it often flye
till destinies owne seruant learne to die.
may death its selfe &all its armory
be ouerreach w*i*th one poore Recipe.
w*ha*^{t} need I curse it, for ere death will kill
another such, so far estrangd from ill.
so faire, so kind, so wisely temperate
time will cut of the very life of fate.
to make a p*er*fit Lady was espied
no want of any thing in her but pride
and as for wantonnes, her modesty
Was still as coole as now her ashes be.
seldome hath any daughter lesse *th*^{en} her
fauourd *th*^{e} stampe of eue her grandmother.
her soule was like her body, both so cleare

as *tha*^{t} a brighter eye *th*^{en} mans must peare
to finde a blot, nor can we yet suspect
but only by her death *th*^{e} least defect.
and were not *tha*^{t} *th*^{e} wages due to sin
we might beleeue that spotles she had bin.

19

fol. 63^{v}

On the death of S*i*^{r} Tho*mas* Leigh.

You *tha*^{t} affright w*i*th lamentable notes
the seruants from their beefe, whose hungry ^throats^
vex *th*^{e} browne porters surly conscience.
that bless *th*^{e} mint for coining lesse *th*^{e} pence.
You whose vnknown and meanly p*ai*^{d} deserts
beg silently w*i*thin & knocke at hearts
fol. 64^{r}
You whose commanding worth makes men beleeue
tha^{t} you a kindnes giue, when you receiue.
all sorts of them *tha*^{t} want yo*u*^{r} teares now send
a housekeeper, a patron, and a freind
Is lodg'd in cley, *th*^{e} man whose table fed
so many when he liu'd, since he is dead
himselfe is turnd to foode whose chimneys ^burnd^
So freely then is into ashes turnd.
the man which life vnto *th*^{e} muses gaue
seeks life of *th*^{em} a lasting Epitaph.
and he, from whose esteem all vertues found
a iust reward, now prostrate on *th*^{e} ground
like some huge ancient oake, *tha*^{t} ere it fell
could not be measurd by *th*^{e} rule so well

desires a faithfull comment of his dayes
such as should neither ly to wrong nor ^praise^
but o w*ha*^{t} muse is halfe so pure so strong
w*ha*^{t} marble sheetes can keepe his name so longe
as only he hath liu'd, *th*^{en} who can tell
A p*er*fect story of his liueing well?
The noble fire *tha*^{t} spurd and whetted on
his brauely vertuous resolution.
Could not so soone <so much> ^be quencht^ as petty soules
whose weaker sparke an ach or thought <con> ^controules^
his life burnd to *th*^{e} snuff, a snuff *tha*^{t} needs
no flatterer to conceale *th*^{e} stench, but feeds
Remembrance w*i*th delight, this manly breth
felt no desease but age, & calld for death
before it durst intrude, or thought to try
that strength of lims *th*^{e} soules integrity.
fol. 64^{v}
Looke on his siluer haire, his gracefull brow
and grauity her selfe might Leigh auow
her father, Time his schoolemate 50 yeers
one wedlocke he embrac't, a date *tha*^{t} bears
faire scope, if soule & body chance to be
so long a couple as his wife & he
but number you his deeds & these outpas
th^{e} largest size of any mortall glasse.
that though hee liu'd 2 a hundred some would cry
alas hee died in his minority
he & his deeds would ner be counted euen
w*i*thout eternity w*hi*^{ch} now is giuen
such descants poore men make who miss him ^more^
then 6 great men *tha*^{t} keeping house before

after a spurt vnconstantly are fledd
Away to London: but *th*^{e} man thats dead
is gon vnto a place more poyulous
and tarries longer ther & waits for vs.

20

fol. 64^{v}

On one that died of the small pox.

Take greedy death a body here intoombd
that by 1000 strokes was made one wound,
where all thy shafts were stucke w*i*th fatall aime
vntill a quiuer this thy marke became,
had Ca*e*sar 50 wounds to let in thee,
because a troope of men might seeme to be,
comprisd in *tha*^{t} braue spirit, this had more
whose deaths were equalld w*i*th *th*^{e} fruitfull ^store^
fol. 65^{r}
of hopefull worth, though eury wound did reach
the very heart, yet none could make a breach.
Into his soule, a soule more fully drest
w*i*th vertuous Iemms, *th*^{en} was *th*^{e} flesh oprest
w*i*th hatefull spots, & therfore euery scar,
when death it selfe is dead shall be a starre.

21

fol. 65^{r}

Another

One pit containes him now, who could not die
before 1000 pits in him did lie.
So many spots vpon his flesh were showne
cause on his soule sin fastned almost none.

22

fol. 80^{v}

On D*octo*^{r} Rauis Bishop of London

When I past powles & traueld in *th*^{e} walke
where all o*u*^{r} Brittaine sinners sweare, & talke
Old harry ruffians, bankrouts, soothsayers
and youth whose cousenage, is as old as thers
& then beheld *th*^{e} body of my lord.
It wounded me the landlord of all times
should lett long liues & leases of their crimes
And to his springing honours did afford
scarse so much sound as to *th*^{e} prophets gourd
Yet since swift flights of vertue hath apt end
Like breath of Angells, w*hi*^{ch} a blessing sends
and vanisheth w*i*thall whilst fowler deeds
Expect a tedious haruest for bad seeds
If blame, not fame & nature if they gaue
where they could add no more *&* last a graue
and iustly doe they greiued freinds forbeare
bubbles, & Alablaster boyes, to reare
to thy religious dust, but did men know,

thy life w*hi*^{ch} such elusions cannot shew

for thou hast trod among those happy ones

who trust not in their su*per*scriptions.

theire smote Epitaphs & periurd stone

W*hi*^{ch} oft belies the soule when she is gone.

thou darst commit thy body, as it lyes

to toungs of lying men, to their envies.

fol. 81^{r}

what profits thee a sheete of lead, w*ha*^{t} good,

If on thy course a marble quarry stood.

let those that feare their rising purchase <….> ^vaults^

and rdard [?] their statutes to accuse their falts.

as if like birds *tha*^{t} peckt at paynted grapes

the Iudge know not their p*er*sons from [their] shapes

whilst thou assured through thy easy dust

shallt rise at first, they would not tho *th*^{ey} must

nor need the chancelo*u*^{r} bost whose Piramis

aboue *th*^{e} house & altar reared is.

for tho thy body fill a viler roome,

thou shalt not change deeds w*i*th him for his ^tombe^

23

p. 144

An Epitaph.//.

The spanne of my daies measure here I rest
It is any body, but I my soule her guest
Is hence ascended whither, neither time
Nor faith nor hope but onely loue canne clime
Where being now inlightned shee d<.>^o^th know
The truth of all men argue of below
Onely this dust doth here her pawne remaine
That when *th*e worlds dissolu'd & she'ele come againe

24

p. 145

Vpon *th*e death of his M*ist*r*es*s.//.

Let none admire why thus I sitt lamenting
Though doomes being pass, *th*e fates <relenting>^giue noe reprieue
ffor reason causeth teares in hearts relenting
And though in vaine perhaps you thinke I grieue
And loose my teares, yet since my onely Deare
Is lost it is noe lesse to loose a teare.

ffarewell bright eyes w*hi*ch once *th*e crystall was
Were loue and beauty drest theyre glorious faces
And fayrer seem'd by looking in *tha*t glass
ffarewell yee snow white armes whose sweet embraces
Might quicken death but they themselues are dead
And cold as stone immoueable as lead.//.

25

p. 145

Vpon one *tha*^{t} dyed hauing his grace denied in *th*^{e} Regent house.//.

Alasse why stayd you him *tha*^{t} needs must goe
Regentes I see all is not in your choyce
Hee hath ^his^ grace whether <w> you will or now.
And is at length got out w*i*thout a voice
Ere *th*^{e} Commencement his last act was done
Hee made an end ere others hadde beegunne
Hee needs no cappe, whose head lies vnder stone
Nor yet his grace, whose soule to heauen is gone.//.

26

p. 157

Vpon Hugh vp Rees a welchman.//.

Hugh vp Rees, Built a Colleese
To Iesus Crees, ffor all welch geese
That were frees And breed lees
And loue tost, A great peesh
Here hee lee's Hugh vp Rees.//.

27

p. 240

On M*iste*^{r} Murialls horse.

Yee fellowes all
of Pembroke Hall
Come to *th*^{e} buriall
ffor cruell Mors

Hath slayne *th*[e] horse

Of M*iste*[r] Muriall

28

p. 240

On Ioh<.>n fiddle

The one & twentye day of Iune

Iohn fiddle went out of tune//

29

p. 241

On a Leacher

Here lyeth hee *tha*[t] lou'd well a wench

That liu'd on *th*[e] English *tha*[t] dyde on *th*[e] French

Whatsoeuer men say hee is not to blame

ffor carrying nothing hence but his good name.

30

p. 241

On a Bishop

Here lyeth he whose rest if it bee bad

It is because hee wanted, *tha*[t] hee had. Grace

31

p. 241

On D*octo*r Lamb

Lambs dead, *th*e Divell he is how could it bee
A divell in all things but mortality
The divell is Gods cape they say, his playne
Once Lamb a God, now Lamb a divell is slayne
And in an apish mocke of Israel
They eat a pascall Rascall Lamb in hell//.

32

p. 241

On a Winchester Porter

At length by worke of woundrous fate
Here lies *th*e poerter of Wynchesters gate
If gone to heauen as much I doe feare
Hee canne bee no more then a porter there
Hee fear'd not hell as much for his sinne
As for *th*e great rapping and oft coming in

33

p. 242

On *th*e Duke of Buckingham

St George for England here doth rest
Cuius contrarium verum est.//.

34

p. 242

In eundum

Here lyes leachery treachoury pride

Who sowre [sic.] Gods wounds & soe hee dyde.//.

35

p. 242

On a Shepheard

Here lyes one in his last sleepe

That now feeds wormes but once fedd sheepe

36

p. 242

On Jaruas Aire

W*i*thin this tombe of marble fayre

Doth ly *th*^{e} corps of Geruas aire

Who dyde not of an ague fitt

Nor surfitted of too much witt

Butt see *th*^{e} crueltie of death

That aire should dye for want of breath.//.

37

p. 242

On One M*iste*^{r} Ouerton

Here lyes M*iste*^{r} Ouerton and here lyes his wife
Here lyes his daughter & here lyes his knife
There lyes his daughter & here lyes his sonne
And hi, ho, for good M*iste*^{r} Overton .//.

38

p. 242

On S*i*^{r} Roger Neuison

Here lyes S*i*^{r} Roger Neuison
Who w*i*th his dagger smote in sun
der *th*^{e} shoulder of S*i*^{r} Harry
Cope who did his sister Marry.//.

39

p. 243

On one Newmon.

Here lyeth shee denie it who can
That liu'd an old woeman and did a Newmon.//.

40

p. 243

On an old man

Here lies antiqiuitie inuolued in dust
young men may die, but old men must.

41

p. 243

On D*octo*^{r} Porter

How well great things w*i*th small can fodge!

for heauen's become a Porters lodge.

42

p. 243

On M*iste*^{r} Perse Maior of Cambridge

The maior's dead, reioyce, yee schollers all

[..aue] will bee cheape when such great <scholl> calues doe fall./

43

p. 243

On a Separatist

Here lies

A comet, blazing w*i*th a glow wormes zeale

Pull'd downe from heauen w*i*th *th*^{e} dragons tayle

Who when aliue, did search w*i*th nimble feete

The stones of Amsterdam, now in a sheete

Doth naked penance: gentle friends forbeare

To wett his tombe w*i*th any humid teare

Nor funeral rite vnto his carkase giue

That gaue no funeral rite, whilst hee did liue.

But let him haue (since vitall breath doth passe

The burial of Iehorakin) an asse

44

p. 243

On a cobbler

Death and this cobbler were long at a stand
Beacause hee was still at *th*e mending hand,
At length came death in very foule weather
And ript his soule from *th*e vpper leather.

45

p. 244

On a Iuggler.

Here lyes a iugler <.> vnder this stone
To whom <bree> Death sayde præsto bee gone.//.

46

p. 244

On D*octo*r Lambe *th*e coniyrer.

Here D*octo*r Lamb *th*e coniurer lyes
Who against his will vntimely dyes
Much grieues *th*e diuell *tha*t monstrous glutton
Hee liu'd not long enough to bee mutton
Now Beellzebub rosts him there.
Whom London prentices beasted here
On th'kitchin where *th*e blacke guard liues
Now *th*e poore D*octo*r chiefly grieues.
That Pluto's cookes dare not bee bold
To serue Lamb as it should bee cold.
All hell did wonder when hee came

Amongst *th*[e] goates to see a Lamb.//.

47

p. 244

On one M*iste*[r] Stone

Ierusalem's curse shall ne're fall on mee

Whilst *tha*[t] a stone vpon a stone you see.//.

48

p. 244

On one Sands

Vnto our names how many wee trust

When I was Sands and now am dust.//.

49

p. 244

On one Munday *tha*[t] hang'd himselfe.

Doe not profane *th*[e] Sabath for gaine or worldly pelfe,

Let Tuesday now beeginne *th*[e] weeke for Munday has hanged himself.//.

50

p. 245

On one M*ist*[r]*e*[s]*s Not*

Not dead, not borne, not christned not begot

Loe here shee lies *tha*[t] was, & yet was not

Shee liu'd, was borne, baptised, nay & more!

Shee died not honest, & yet liu'd not a whore

Now reader search vnto this Gordian knott

W*hi*^{ch} when thou doest vntie, thou vntiest not.

51

p. 245

On a vsurer

Ten in *th*^{e} Hundred lies here fast ramm'd

An hundred to tenne, but his soule is dammd.

52

p. 245

On a Midwife.

A midwife lies vnder this stone supprest

No doubt, shee now, doth from all trauailes rest.

53

p. 245

On an Eunuch

Here vnder rests an Eunuch friend to no man.

Hated of all, but most of all of woeman

Death was his freest patron, *tha*^{t} hee gaue

Him stones w*hi*^{ch} in his <Lamb> life hee could not haue

But yet w*i*th this preuise, as I guesse

They should keepe downe & neuer raise his flesh.

54

p. 245

On one sound

Here lies one deepe vnder ground

That died on *th*^{e} pose, & yet was sound.

55

p. 246

On a Cobler.//.

Here lies an honest cobbler <y.> ^who^ curst fate

Perceauing neare out^.^<d>one, would needs translate

Twas a good trusty soul & time hath bin

Hee could well liquored foe through thicke & thinne

Death put a tricke vpon him & w*ha*^{t} wast?

Hee called for his flute death brought his last.

Twas not vprightly done to cut his thread

That mended more & more till hee was dead.

But since hee's dead this onely can be sayd

An honest cobbler here, is vnderlaid.//.

56

p. 246

On one Button

O heauens, o poles!

Are graues become button holes.//.

I.N. hic morititur.

57

p. 246

On a Smith.

Here lies a smith *tha*^{t} died of late

And standest still at heauens fate

ffor hee hath sworne, hee will no knocke

Meaning I thinke to picke *th*^{e} locke.//

58

p. 246

Trin*ity* Coll*ege*

On one halfe Head a cookes scullion

Was not death a very Gull

To leaue halfe head w*i*th out a scull.

59

p. 247

On one Iohn Hall knocked downe w*i*th *th*^{e} clappe of a bell, & supposed dead//

Here lies John Hall, *th*^{e} vniuersitie capp

That liu'd by *th*^{e} bell, & died by *th*^{e} clap

60

p. 247

His Answer

Iohn Hall still liues, & *tha*^{t} in hope

To liue by *th*^{e} bell when you die by *th*^{e} rope.//.

61

p. 247

On an Adulterer

Here lies one w*i*th his skull quite bare

That w*i*th catching of coneys left many an haire.

62

p. 247

On one Strange

Here lies a man, nor Pagan, Turke, nor Iew

Tis Strange indeede, but not so Strange as true.

63

p. 247

On Ben Iohnson by himselfe

Here lies Iohnson

That was once one

Who had a little haire on his chinne

His name was Beniamin.

64

p. 247

On *th*e earle of Exeter

Godds niggs, here liggs

Nere stirre, *th*e Earle of Exeter

65

p. 247

On S*i*^{r} Iohn Shipsquire

Here lies Sir Iohn Shipsquire, an ell vnder ground
Whose Knight hood cost 500 <hu> punds
Who Coying haue all to his old wife Megge
For hee had no issue but one in his legge.

66

p. 247

On one twice marryed,

On stone now serues, here see what death can doe
<Hee> Who wilst shee liu'd was scarce content w*i*th too

67

p. 248

On *th*^{e} D*uke of* B*uckingham*

If Idle passengers aske who lyeth he<..>^re^
Let *th*^{e} Dukes tombe this short inscription beare
Paint Cales and Ree, make ffrance & Spayne to laugh
Mix Englands shame, & thee's his Epitaph.
Liue euer felton thou hast turn'd to dust
Ambition, treason, murder, pride & lust.//.

68

p. 248

On *th*[e] D*uke of* B*uckingham*

Here lies a Captaine *tha*[t] seldome drew sword
Here leis a Courtier *tha*[t] neuer kept his word.
Here lies a Counsellor *tha*[t] gouern'd *th*[e] state
Here lies Buckingham, all *th*[e] worlds hate.//.

69

p. 248

On *th*[e] same D*uke of* B*uckingham*

Reader here vnderneath this place I am
That once was stil'd *th*[e] mightie Buckingam
God gaue mee life, my being, & my breath.
Two Kings their fauour & a slaue my death.
As for my fame, of you I needed not craue
You may beleeue two Kings before one slaue.//.

70

p. 248

On Doctor Lamb.

If heauen bee pleas'd when men doe leaue to sinne
If hell bee pleas'd when it a soule doth win
If earth bee pleas'd when, when it hath lost a knaue
Then all are pleas'd for Lamb is in his graue.//.

71

p. 249

On an Infant

A child, & dead? Alasse how should this come?

Surely his thread of life was but a thrumbe.

72

p. 249

On a pinner.

Here lies a pinner o thou cruell death!

Why didst thou stoppe this honest pinners breath

Who, by his trade in <straping> ^scraping^ of a pinne

Made better dust then thou canst make of him.//.

73

p. 249

On D. Butler.//.

Here lies *th*^{e} Physitian *tha*^{t} neuer was Doctor

That died in *th*^{e} yeare when *th*^{e} Devill was porter.

74

p. 249

On K*ing* I*ames*

Death lou'd pease porridge, & for this intent

Hee tooke away *th*^{e} King of peace in Lent

75

p. 249

On one White

Blacke grisly death did nicke his arrow right

When leauing couers, hee did hit *th*^{e} white

76

p. 249

On a clamorous woeman.

Here lyes a woeman noe man can deny it

Who dyde in peace, yet neuer liued in quiet

Her husband prayes as ore her graue you walke

You'd sofely <wake> tread, for if shee wake shee'le talke/.

77

p. 249

On Sir Horratio Poliuicimes//.

Death w*i*th his beesome came to Babram

And swept Sir Horratio to *th*^{e} bosome of Abram

Then came Hercules w*i*th his clubbe

And beat him downe to Beelzebub

78

p. 250

On S*i*^{r} Walter Rawleigh

Goe passenger w*i*th in this hollow vault

Lyes nothing but a body & a fault

79

p. 250

On *th*e same W*alter* R*aleigh*

Euen such is time, w*hi*ch takes in trust
our youth, our ioyes &all wee haue
And payes vs but wi*th* age & dust
Who in *th*e darke & silent graue,
When wee haue wandered all our wayes:
Shutts vp *th*e storie of our dayes.
But from this graue, & earth, & dust.
The Lord will raise mee vp I trust.//.

80

p. 250

On a gentlewoman

Nature in this small volume was about
To perfitt, w*ha*t in woeman was left out.
Yet fearfull left a price so well beegunne
Might want perfection when *tha*t shee had done
E're shee could finish w*ha*t shee vndertooke
Threw dust vpon it, & shut vp *th*e booke.//.

81

p. 250

On *th*e Duke of Lenox dying as hee went to parliament.

Are all diseases dead? or will death say
Hee might not kill this prince *th*e common way
Sure it was soe, & death himselfe conspird

p. 251

To make his death, as was his life admir'd

The commons was not summond now I see

Merely to make lawes, but to mourne for thee.

Noe lesse then all *th*^{e} bishops could suffice

To waite vpon soe great a sacrifice

The court *th*^{e} Altar was, *th*^{e} waiters peeres,

The Myrrhe & frankincense; great Cæsars teares

A brauer offering w*i*th more pompe and state

Noe time, nor place could euer celebrate.

82

p. 251

Vpon the King of Swedland

Can Chrystendomes great champion sinke away

Thus silently into a bedde of clay?

Can such a Monarch dye & yett not haue

An earthquake for to open him a graue?

Did there no meteor fright *th*^{e} vniuerse?

Nor commett hold a torch vnto his hearse?

Was there no clappe of thunder for to tell

Al Chrystendomes *th*^{e} losse & ring his knell.

Impartiall fates! I see *tha*^{t} Princes then

That liue like Gods on earth, must <liue> ^dy^ like men

And *th*^{e} same passing bell must tolle for them.

p. 252

W*hi*^{ch} but now *th*^{e} beggars requiem

When such a soule is from *th*^{e} earth bereauen:

Mee thinks there should bee triumph made in heauen

And starrs should runne a tilt as his decease

To wellcome him into a place of peace

Who though frequent warrior yet did striue

Dying in warre, to leaue peace still aliue.//

83

p. 252

On an Infant

As carefull Mothers doe to sleeping lay

Their <*th*> ababes *tha*^{t} would to long *th*^{e} wantons play.

So to preuent my youths approaching crimes

Nature my Nurse had mee to bedde bytimes.//.

84

p. 252

On *th*^{e} same.

Into this world, as strangers to an Inne

This child came guest <….> ^wose^ where when hee had beene

And found no entertainement for to stay

Hee onely broke his fast, & went his way.

85

p. 252

On M*iste*^{r} Harrison.//.

If vertues, hon<e>^our^, treuth, & fame,

Can all immortalize a name:

Thou are not dead ‘tis not fo^r^ thee

These solemne teares and dirges bee

p. 253

Tis true indeede, thou didst resigne
That more vnworthy part of thyne,
That lump of Mouldred earth, vnfitt
Where such an heauenly soule should sitt.
Thou didst put of that house of clay.
W*hi*ch needs must else haue dropt away
But for thy selfe if any bee,
In all this throng'd solemnitie
Conscious goodnesse, He depose
It is thy virtue liues in those
Yet for these reliques sometimes thine,
That very name commands a shrine.
And lest some carelesse foot should spurne
Those sacred ashes in their vrne
Let them beare this inscription
Here lies *tha*t good old Harrison.
Write this in teares, on *tha*t looser dust
And euery griu'd beholder must
When hee of thy departure heares
Renew *th*e letters w*i*th his teares:||

86

p. 253

On Q*ueen* Elisabeth

Kings, Queenes, Mens, virgins eies
See where your mirror lies
p. 254
In whom, her friends haue seene
A Kings state on a Queene

In whom her foes suruaye

A kings heart in a mayde

Whom left men for piety

Should grow to thinke a dyety

Heauen hence away did summon

To shew shee was a woeman.//.

87

p. 254

On Q*ueen* Anne by K*ing* I*ames*

Thee to inuite *th*^{e} great god sent a starre,

Whose friend & nearest kinne good princes are.

ffor though they runne the race of men, & die

Death seems but to <.>^r^efine their maiestie

So did *th*^{e} Queene from hence *th*^{e} court remoue

And left *th*^{e} <heauen> ^earth^ in heauen to liue aboue

Then shee is chang'd not dead noe good Prince dies

But like *th*^{e} Sunne, doth onely sett to rise.

88

p. 254

On one &C/.

Stay mortall, stay, remooue not from this tomb

Beefore thou hast considered well thy doome

My bow stands ready bent, & couldst thou see

Mine arrows drawne to th'head, & aimes at thee

Prepare thou walking dust, take home this line

The graue *tha*^{t} next is opened, may bee thine.

89

p. 255

On one Beniamin Stone.//.

Thou in whose name, a monument doth ly

Needst no blancke verse, to say *tha*^{t} this is

Who though w*i*th diamonds couered, would'st bee knowne

Better enclos'd then *th*^{e} enclosing stone

How it hath death done this for to engraue thee

Since wee a plaine stone wisht to haue thee.//

90

p. 255

On K*ing* Iames tombe stone

Nature mad all her children saue this one

Weepe at his death, & this was dry alone

But art did helpe where nature was to weake

And taught *th*^{e} stone *tha*^{t} could not weepe to speake

Yet wonder not for certainly this lesse

A stone should speake, then now no teares expresse.

91

p. 255

On K*ing* Iames

O tro^u^ble not this sacred rest

Whereof these ashes are possest.

Nor let an eye approach too neare

Where euery glance will cost a teare

Search not w*ha*^{t} must bee conceal'd

This Moses sepu^l^cher is seal'd

And remoou'd from curious eyes

Left *th*[e] world idolatrize.

His glorious dust w*hi*[ch] still retaines:

More maiesty then most Kings raigne.

p. 256

And halfe persuades vs *tha*[t] this stone,

Is not his monument but his throne

But if *th*[e] bold approacher dare:

Enquire yet whose these ashe<.>^s^ are

Know then (sad Reader) here doth lye

As much perfection as could die

Truths great Master, vertues louer

All earth bore, or earth can couer

Tho seest though in this narrow roome

Thine owne, & each beholders tombe.

When euery mournfull looker on

Is turn'd like Niobe to a stone.

Yet *th*[e] grieu'd worlds ^losse^ & feare:

Are cured by priuate teares

ffor in so emulous a griefe

Each country quarrels to be chiefe

And by their trisoutery [?] teares:

Would shew hee was not ours but theirs

Thus by an officious Iarre

They see to preface to *tha*[t] marre

That shall make knowne w*i*[th]in this tomb.

Doth ly *th*[e] peace of Chrystendome//

92

p. 257

On *th*e countesse of Pembroke

Vnderneath this sable herse
Lyes *th*e subiect of all verse
Sydneis sister, Pembroke's mother
Death ere thou hast kill'd another
ffayre & learn'd & good as shee
Time shall throw a dart at thee
Marble piles let no man rayse
To her name for after dayes
<S…> kind woeman borne as shee
Reading this, like Niobe
Shall weepe to marble & become
Both *th*e mourner & the tombe.//

93

p. 257

On a young Gentlewoman.//.

The powers aboue deny
So faire a beauty should so quickly die
Prayse her who will hee still shall bee her debter
ffor art n'ere fram'd nor nature made a better
soe fayre a Person to describe to men
Requires a curious pencil nor a penne
Nor euer beautyes like mett at such closes
But in *th*e kisses of two damaske roses
Within this spatious orbe could no man find
A fayrer face match'd wi*th* a fayrer mind

Liue thou aboue in endlesse ^blisse^ while wee

Admire all virtue in admiring thee.

94

p. 258

On a young Infant

Here lyes his parents hopes & feares

Once all their ioy now all their teares

Hee's now past sence past feares of paine

Twere sinne to wish him he<e>re againe

Had hee but liu'd t'haue beene a man

His youth had growne into a spanne

But now hee takes vp lesse roome

Rock's from his cradle to his tombe

View but *th*^{e} way by w*hi*^{ch} wee come

You'l' say hee's best *tha*^{t}'s first at home.

95

p. 257

On Barclay

Hee *tha*^{t}'s in prison in this narrow roome

Write not for custome needs no verse nor tomb

Nor yet from these canne memory bee lent

To him who must bee his tombs monument

And by *th*^{e} virtue of his lasting Name

Must make his tomble [sic.] liue long not it is fame

ffor when this gaudie monument is gone

Children of th'vnborne world shall spye *th*^{e} stone

Tha^{t} couers him & to their fellowes cry

'Tis here, about, *tha*^{t} famous Barclay lies

Let them w*i*th fained titles fortifye

Their tombs, who sickly virtue feares t due

And let their tombs belie them call *th*^{e} blest

And charitable Marble faine their rest

p. 259

Hee needs not when his lifes true storie's done

The liyng [sic.] postcript of a periur'd stone

Then spare his tombe 'tis needlesse & vnsafe

His virtue must outliue his Epitaph.

96

p. 259

On *th*^{e} Earle of Dorset

Let no prophane ignoble foot tread here

This hallow'd price of earth. Dorset lies there

A small poore relique of a noble spirit

ffree as *th*^{e} ayre & ample as his merit

Whose least perfection was large & great

Enough to make a common man compleat

A soule refind, no proud forgetting Lord

But mindfull of mean names, & of his word

Who loued men for honour not for ends.

And had *th*^{e} noblest way of getting friends.

By louing first, & yet who knew *th*^{e} Court

But vnderstood it better by report

The practise, for hee nothing tooke from <their> ^thence^

But *th*^{e} Kings fauour for his recompence

Who for religion & his country's good

Neither his honour valued nor his blood

Rich in *th*^{e} worlds opinion, & mans prayse

And full in all wee could desire, but dayse.

Hee *tha*^{t} is warn'd of this & shall forbeare

To spend a sigh <a teare> ^for him^ & shedde a teare

p. 260

May hee liue long in scorne, a^n^ pittied fall

And want a mourner at his funerall.

97

p. 260

D^{r} Corbett on his father

Vincent Corbett, farther knowne

By painters name, then by his owne

Here lyes engaged 'till *th*^{e} day

Of raysing bones & quickninge clay

Nor wonder reader *tha*^{t} hee hath

Two Surnames in his Epitaph

ffor this one doth comprehend

All *tha*^{t} <…> ^two^ families could lend

And if to know more arts then any

Could multiplie one into many;

Here a Colinie lyes then

Both of qualities & men

Yeares he liu'd well nigh foursecore

But count his vertues hee liu'd more

And number them by be^e^ing good

Hee liu'd *th*^{e} age beefore the flood

Should wee vndertake his story

Truth would seeme faind, & fainelesse glory

Beesides this tablet were to small

Adding *th*^{e} pillars & *th*^{e} wall.

p. 261

yet of this volume much is found

Writt in many a fertle ground

Where *th*^{e} printer thee affords

Earth for paper, trees for woods

Hee was natures factor here

And leiger lay for euery shire

To supply *th*^{e} ingenooks wants

of some spoung fruites, & forraigne plants

Simple hee was, & wise w*i*thall,

His purse not base nor prodigall

Poorer in substance then in friends

future & publicke were his ends

His conscience like his diet, such

As neither tooke, nor left too much

Soe *tha*^{t} made lawes were vsely growne

To him *tha*^{t} needed but his owne

Did hee his neighnours bidde, like those

That's feast you onely to enclose

Or w*i*th roastmeate racke their rents

Or cozen them w*i*th fedde consents.

p. 262

No, *th*^{e} free meeting at his bord

Did but one literall sence afford

But onely loue & neighbour hood

No close or acre vnderstood

His almes were such as Pauls designes

Nor auses to be sau'd, but signes

W*hi*^{ch} almes by faith loue, hope, layde downe

Laid vp w*hi*^{ch} now hee weares, a crowne

Besids his, fame, his goods, his life

Hee left a grieued sonne & wife

Strange sorrow scarce to bee belieu'd

When as *th*[e] sonne & heire is grieu'd.//.

98

p. 262

On an Infant

Rare peece of Angells gold *tha*[t] art yet hot

Out of heauens mint, & hast but newly got

Thy soueraignes Ymage on thee, yet found true

W*i*[th]out allowance, for all grains are due

To a young goodnesse, thou *th*[e] fate hast found

Of Misers gold, & are intomb'd in ground.

99

p. 262

On one drown'd in *th*[e] snow

Goe daintie wormes meate, if such things as they

p. 263

Yet of their food can breed here, for wee may

Thinke such a soule corru^p^ted in *th*[e] mold

W*i*[th]out *th*[e] aide, of balme or alloes would

A richer mummie make, then ere was sent

ffrom a time worne Ægyptin monument

Goe pretty gemme, new cut in heauen & lett

As a rich diamond in an annulet

W*hi*[ch] now is broken & *th*[e] seuer'd gemme

Shines w*i*[th] *th*[e] stones in new Ierusalem

And if *th*[e] soule bee made of Harmony

As this defin'd by somes philosophy

Hee shall soe sing none shall distinguish him

Suppos'd to bee some pretty Cherubin

W*i*th in a fleece of silent waters drown'd,

Beefore my life was lost, a graue I found

That w*hi*^{ch} o[.]eild my life from her sweet home

ffor griefe strait wrought it selfe into a tombe

One clement *th*^{e} angry fates thought meete

To bee my death, graue, tombe, & winding sheet

Phœbus himselfe myne Epitaph had writ

But blotting many ere hee thought one fitt

Hee wrote vntill my graue & tombe were gone

And 'twas an Epitaph, *tha*^{t} I had none,

p. 264

For euery one *tha*^{t} passed by *tha*^{t} way

W*i*thout a sculpoure laid, *tha*^{t} there I lay.

100

p. 264

On his M*ist*^{r}*e*^{s}*s*

You worms my riualls (when shee was aliue

How many thousands were there *tha*^{t} did striue

To haue your freedom<.>^e^) for their sakes forbeare

Vnseemly holes in her soft skinne to teare

But if needs must (o what worme can abstein

To tast her tender flesh) see you refraine

W*i*th your disorder'd eating to deface her

But feede on her so *tha*^{t} you most may grace her

ffirst in her earetips, see you make a paire

Of holes, where whilst *th*^{e} moist enclosed aire

Fo^r^mes into water in

And in her eares a paire of iewells make

Haue you not yet enough of *tha*^{t} soft skinne

The sight whereof in fo^r^mer times hath bin

Sufficient to haue ransom' many a soul

Captiue to loue? if not *th*^{e} vpward roule

Your little bodies, where I would you haue

This Epitaph vpon her Forhead graue

Shee liu'd was faire & full of witt

Dead all her faults are in her forehead writ.//.

101

p. 265

On a gentlewoman dying on *th*^{e} Pox

A beauty smoother then *th*^{e} iuorie plaine

Late by *th*^{e} Poxe ini<.>^u^riously was slaine

Twas not *th*^{e} Poxe; loue shot a thousand darts

And make those holes, as graues to bury hearts.

102

p. 265

On *th*^{e} Earle of Dorcett:

Sexton bee Mute! I know thy ill taught tongue

In speaking this Lords prayse, may doe him wrong

'Tis past all mortals care, & much more thine

To tell whose vertues dwelt w*i*thin this shrine

Yet if illiterate persons passe this way

And aske what iewell glorifies this clay

Then tell his name, no more *tha*^{t} shall suffice

To draw downe floods of teares from driest eies

Say dorcets ashes this tombe hath in keeping,

Then lead them forth, lest they grow blind w*i*th weeping.

103

p. 265

On a young Infant

What borne so late, & dead so soone? tis true
The debt was payd, before *th*e debt was due
So ^these^ fayre gems, are alwayes too too britle
That nature frames of too too fine a metle
What then hath sylly man theron to trust
Who liuing is an heape of Mooning dust
Though thou bee housd w*i*thin a syluer shrine
The graue *tha*t next is open'd may bee thine.//.

104

p. 266

An Epitaph

When I shall leaue this world & cease to bee
Let no sad sighes, no teares bee spent for mee
No sable mourning weeds for mee bee worne
Nor dolefull Eligie my herse adorne
No Egypt Odors let my body balme,
Or Cypresse decke my herse, only *th*e palme
Of all I haue, w*ha*t then can I call mine
But a poore shroud or shirt or saladine
Then since vile carkase giues but worms a dinner
My Epitaph bee this here lies a sinner.

105

p. 299

Epitaph

Reader I was borne & cride

Crack't smell't & soe dyde

p. 300

Like Iulius Cæsar was my death

Who in *th*^{e} senate lost his breath

Much alike intomb'd doth ly

The noble Romulus & I

And when I dide like flora fayre

I left *th*^{e} common wealth mine <aye> ^<aire>^ heire

n.b. Photographs and transcriptions for this MS are only partial.

106

fol. 176^{r}

M*iste*^{r} Lewis dyeing suddenly these

Lynes were found in his Pockett./

Twice twelue yeares not fully <b> tould, a weary breath

I haue exchanged for a wished death

my Course was shorte *th*^{e} longer is my rest

God takes them soonest whome he loueth best

ffor he that liues to day and dyes tomorrowe

looseth some dayes of mirth but Months of sorrow./

107

fol. 177^{v}

Epitaph on *th*^{e} truely virteous

the Lady W./

Wise, sober, chast, faire, fruitfull, well descended

loe here she lyes which S*ain*^{t}=like liud & ended./

108

fol. 177^{v}

On Spencer *th*^{e} Poett./

H H [Hugh Holland?]

He was & is, see then wheyr lyes the Odds

once God of Poetts, now Poet of the Gods

And though his lyne of life begone aboute

th^{e} life yet of his lyne shall neuer out./

109

fol. 177[v]

On M*iste*[r] Beaumont's death./

he that hath such Acutenes and such witt
as would Ask tenn good heads to husband it
he that can wryte soe well till noe man dare
fol. 178[r]
Refuse that for the best, let him beware
Beaumont is dead by whose sole death appeares
witt's a disease consumes Men in few yeares./

[later hand]
printed in 1663.

110

fol. 178[r]

An Epitaph on Berkley

He that's imprison'd in this narrow Roome
wer't not for Custome needs nor verse not Toomb
nor frame these can their memorye be Lent
to him who must be his tombes Monument
And by the vertue of his Hasting[1] [sic.] Name
must make his Toombe liue long not it his fame
for when this gawdy Monument is gone
Chyldren of th'vnborne world shall spye *th*[e] stone
that Couers him & to their fellowes Crye
tis here iust here aboute Berkly doth lye.

[1] Usually 'lasting'

Let them with feighned Tytles ffortefie
their Toombes whose sickly virtue feares to dye
and let their Toombes be=lye them call them blest
and charitable Marble feigne the Rest
He needes not when his life true storie's done
fol. 178^{v}
The lyeing Postscript of a periurd <Toomb> stone
then spare his Toomb that's needles and vnsafe
Whose virtue must out liue his Epitaph./

111

fol. 4r

On Sir Kenelme Digbyes Lady 1633

Fayre broken modell of perfection rest,
Rest, here inclosed in a marble nest,
And in thy bewties sweets embalm'd, remaine
Free from Corruption as it was from staine;
Till that Last glorious marriage daie, inuitinge
which calls blest matters to theire forms vnitinge
shall thence to heauen in Angels wings enfolded
returne thy body, where it sure was moulded,
And that Metamorphose day to creatures (when
By nature coursly kneaded, men
shall be transform'd to perfect shapes vnknowne
I doubt our soules will scares our bodies own)
Can nothinge adde to thine, it still shall finde,
The same diuines that it left behind.
when in thy sleepe it stole out of thy brest
To see whether it or Paradise were best
And sill doth doubt heauen scares a blisse would bee
were it not sure euen there to dwell in thee./
Lo:rd Digby

112

fol. 4r

Sir Iohn Robins before he kill'd himselfe

what Shall I doe that am vndone
where shall I flye, my selfe to shun

Ay mee, my selfe, my selfe must kill
and yett I dye against my will

In starry letters I behold
my death is in the heauens inrold
there find I writ in skies a boue
that I poore I must dye for Loue

T'was not my Loue deseru'd to dye
Ô noe it was vnworthy I
I for her Loue should not haue died
But that I had noe worth beside

Ay mee that Loue such woe procures
For w*i*thout her no life endures
I for her vertues did her serue
Doth such a loue a death deserue.

113

fol. 78^{r}
On the Countess of Pembroke,

Vnderneath this sable herse
Lyes the subiect of all verse
Sydnies sister, pembrokes mother
Death, ere thou kill'st such another
Soe faire, so learned, so good as shee,
Time will throw a dart att thee.
Marble piles let noe man raise
to her name, for after dayes
Some kinde Lady good as shee

reading it, like Niobe

will turne a stone, and so become

both her mourner and her tombe./

114

fol. 79^{r}

On Kinge Iames

All that haue Eyes now wake & weepe

He whoe waking was our sleepe

Is fallen asleepe himselfe & neuer

Shall wake againe, till wake for euer

Death's Iron hand hath Clos'd those eyes

That were at once three kingdoms spies

Both to foresee & to p*re*uent

Daungers as soone as they were mea^n^t

That head whose workinge braine alone

Wrought all mens Quiet but his owne

Now hes at Rest, oh let him haue

The Peace he lent vs to his graue

Yf not Naboth all his Reigne

Were for his fruitefull Vyneyard slaine

Yf noe Vriah lost his Life

Because he had too faire a wife

Then let noe Shymies Curses wound

His Hono*u*r or p*ro*phane this ground

Let noe Blacke rancke mouth Breathed Curre

Peace-able Iames his Ashes stir

Princes are Gods, oh doe not then

Rake in their Graues to make them men

115

fol. 79^{r}

ffor 2 and twenty yeares longe Care
For p*ro*uideinge such an Heyre
That to the peace w*hi*^{ch} wee before
May add thrice two and twenty more
for his day trauells & midnight watches
for his Cras'de sleepe stollen by snatches
for two fierce Kingdomes Ioynd in one
for all he did or meant to haue done
Doe this for him write <f>ore his duste
James the ffaithfull and the Iuste.

116

fol. 91^{v}

On the Queene

Noe not a quach (sad Poet) doubt yo^{w}:
there's not griefe enough w*i*thout yo^{w}:
or what it will asswage ill newes
to say shee's dead that was yo*u*^{r} Muse.
Ioyne not w*i*th death to make the tymes
more grieuous w*i*th most greuous rimes.
and if't be possible deare eyes
the famous vniuersities
if both yo*u*^{r} Eyes be Matches, sleepe
or if yo^{w} wilbe loyall, weepe,
forbeare the Press^{e}, there's none will looke
before the Mart for a new booke
why should yo^{w} tell the world what witte
growes at new Parkes or Campus pitte

or what Conceipts youths stumble on
talking the ayre towr'd Trumpington.
now yo^{w} graue tuto^{rs} that doe temper
Yo*u*^{r} long & short w*i*th q*ue* & semper
Oh doe not when yo*u*^{r} owne are done
make for my Ladyes eldest sone
verses, w*hi*^{ch} he shall turne to prose
when hee shall read what yo^{w} compose.
nor for an Epithate that fayles
bite off yo*u*^{r} vnpoetique nailes
Vniust, why should yo^{w} in those vaynes
punish yo*u*^{r} fingers for yo*u*^{r} braynes.
Know henceforth greifes vitall part
Consists in nature not in art
& verses that are studied
mourne for themselues not for the dead
harke: the Queenes Epitaph shalbe
noe other than her pedigree
& lines in blood Cut out, are stronger
then lines in marble & last longer
& such a verse shall neuer fade
as if begotten & not made,
Her ffather, husband, Brother, kinge,
royall relations, & from her springe
a Prince, & Princess, & from those
faire Certaynties, & rich hope growes.
here's Poetry shallbe secure
Whilst Brittaigne Denmarke Rhein [?] indure.
Inough on Earth what purchase higher
saue heauen, to p*er*fect her desire
& as a strange starr once intic'd

& gouernd those wise men to Christ

fol. 92^{r}

Soe now a Herald starr this yeare

did beckon to her to appeare

w*hi*^{ch} starr did not vnto o*u*^{r} nation

portend her death, but her translation

for when such harbengers are seene

God Crownes a Saint, not kils a Queene./

117

fol. 100^{v}

A epitaph of two louers

She first deceas'd: hee for a little tryd

to liue without hir, likt it not and dyd.

118

fol. 133^{r}

I: C:

Reder stand back dull not this marbell: ^shrine^

with iereligious breath the stones diuine

And doth inclose a wonder butey witt

deuochon and virginity with it

Which like a lille fanting in its prijme

whithred and left the worlds decetefull tyme

Cropt it too soone and earth the self same wome

from whenc in sprong is now become its tombe

Whos sweter sole a flower of machles prise

tran^n^slateted [sic.] is from hence to paradice

119

fol. 161^{v}

Another

Reader stand still and Looke, for here I am

who was of late the mighty Buckingham

God gaue to mee my beinge and my breath

two Kinges their fauors, but a slaue my death

and for my ffame I claime, and doe not craue

that you beleeue two Kinges before one slaue

ffinis

120

fol. 167^{v}

An Epitaph on Robert Munday who kept the bowles alley and fferry att S'awly who dy'd the :20th: of June 1625

beinge Monday morning

Monday is gone, howe shall the weeke be guided

nowe Munday from the Six dayes is deuided,

On Mondaye was the world first begunne

and upon Monday Morne was Mondaye dyne

on Monday Morne did death and Mondaye bowle

but Monday play'd faire playe, was death play'd foul

Whilst Monday sought the Rubbers for to parte,

death kist the M*ist*^{r}*es*s and stroke him to the hart

though Mondaye knew the Vaces of the Alley,

yett he w*i*th death one Minute could not dally

yett Mondaye of the twayne the better wynne

a heauen of glorye, for an earth of sinne

there Mondaye Cozend death hee kept behinde

manye more dayes, though not of Mondayes [kind]

thus from the Alley Monday ferry'd death
and death ingratefull, ferryed him of breath
fol. 168^{r}
Thus death depriu'd him of things transitorye,
and sente him wthout hee stande propitiatorye
hee liued well, dyed well, lesse can noe man saye
yet vppon Monday mourne deceased Mondaye./
ffinis

121

fol. 2r

On a fayre child who died soo sone as it was borne. G:*eorge* Morly -

With in this marble casket lies
a dainti<a>e Iewell of greate price
wich nature to the worlds disdayne
but shewd and put it vp agayne

122

fol. 2r

On a Child.

As carefull mothers to there beds doe lay
theire babs wich would too longe the wantons play
So to spend my youth in swadlinge crimes[1]
nature my nurse layd me to bed betimes.

123

fol. 2r

Epitaph Jam*es* Worton.

If length by worke by worke of wondrus fate,
heare lies the porter of Winchester gate.
if gone to heauen, as much I doe feare,
he can be noe more, then a porter theare.
he feard not hell, soe much, for his sinne,
as for the greate rappinge, and oft comminge in.

[1] usually 'prevent my youths ensuing crimes'

124

fol. 4^{v}

On Iohn Dawson *th*^{e} buttlers deth

Dawson *th*^{e} butlers dead although I thinke
Poets were nere infusd with single drinke
Ile spende a farthinge muse, some wat'ry verse
Will serue *th*^{e} turne to cast vppon this herse,
If any cannot weepe amongst you here
Take off his pott & see squeese out a teare
Weepe o his Cheeses, weepe til you be good,
Ye *tha*^{t} are dry or in *th*^{e} sun haue stood
In mossy coats & rusty liueries morne
Vntill like him to Ashes ye shall turne
weepe ô ye barrells lett your drippings fall
In trickling streames, make waste more prodiga^ll^
Then when our drinke is bad, *tha*^{t} Iohn may floate
to stix, in beare, & lift vp Charons boate
With wholesome waues, & as o*u*^{r} cound^u^its run
With clarrot at the coronation.
Goe lett oure channells flow with single tiffe
For Iohn I trust is crownd; take off y*ou*^{r} whiffe
Ye men of rosemary, now drinke off all
remembringe tis the butlers funerall
Had he bin master of good double beere
My life for his, Iohn dawson had bin heare.

125

fol. 7^{r}

On a Locksmith

A zealous locksmith died of late
Who is by this at heauen gate
The reason why he will not knocke
Is that hee meanes to picke the locke

126

fol. 8^{r}

On the Lady Arabella

How doe I thanke the death; and blesse this hower
That I haue past the Guard & scapt *th*^{e} Tower
That now my pardon is my Epitaph
And a small Coffin my whole carcase hath
ffoe at this change both soule and body were
Enlardg at once securd from hope & feare
That amounge S*ain*^{ts} this amounge Kings is layde
and w*i*th my Birthright clamd, my death right payde.

127

fol. 9^{v}

Her Epitaph

Happy graue thou dost enshrine
That w*hi*^{ch} makes the a rich mine
Remember yett tis but a lone
and wee must haue backe o*u*^{r} one
The very same (marke me) the same

Thou camst [sic.] not cheate vs with a lame

deformed carcase thee was faire

fresh as morninge, soft as hayre

pure then other flesh as farr

as other<s> soules than bodyes are

and that thou mayst *th*^{e} better see

to find her out, 2 starrs there bee

Ecclisped now, vncloud but those

and they will point thee to the rose

That dyde each cheeks now pale & wan

fol. 10^{r}

but will be when shee makes[2] againe

ffresher then euer, and how ere

Her longe sleepe may allter her

Her soule will know her body straight

Twas made soe fitt fort no deceite

Can sute an other to it none

Cloath it soe neatly at its owne.

128

fol. 11^{v}

On Owen the butler of Ch*rist* Ch*urch*

Why did death so sone Owen o*u*^{r} butler cach

Into my mind it cannot easily sinke

It may be death stood at *th*^{e} buttery hach

and honest Owen would not make him drinke

If it were so then butler twas thy fault

Tha^{t} death insteede of drinke made thee his draught

[2] usually 'wakes'

not so not so, but Owen gaue him licquor

& death being foxt tooke him away *th*[e] quicker

Yet merry let not care nere hurt *th*[e] minde

Though *th*[e] butlers gone *th*[e] kees are left behind

129

fol. 13[r]

On M*iste*[r] Pricke of Ch*rist*Ch*urch*

The fift day of this Last november

Ch*rist*Ch*urch* lost a prity member

Widdowes lament, & maidens mak *thei*[r] mones

for now the Pricke is layd beneath *th*[e] stones.

130

fol. 14[r]

On a Cobler continually mending.

Maruaile not if death in dout did stand

death found him allwayes on the mending hand

But by misfortune or by chance of neather[3]

death ript his soule quite from the upper leather

131

fol. 17[r]

Vpon a Sherriffe of Oxford.

The sherriffe of oxford late is growne soe wise

As to reprieue his bere till next assise

[3] often also reads 'weather' in other versions (see Folger v.a.103, f22[v])

A lasse twas not soe quicke, twas not soe headie

The Iury sate & found it dead allready.

132

fol. 19^{v}

A Songe

Come hither read my gentle frend

And heare behold a coziers end

Longer in lengh [sic.] his life, had gonne

but that he had no last so longe

O mightie death whose dart can kill

The man that made him soules at will.

133

fol. 20^{r}

Pegg Not

Not dead, not bourne, not Christened, not begot

Loe here she lyes *tha*^{t} was & yet was not

Shees dead, was borne baptized nay & more

Shee in her life dishonest not a whore

Reader behold a wonder strangly wrought

That whilest thou readest this thou readest it not

134

fol. 20^{r}

On one who fell from a hayloft and broke his necke

Lo younder about *th*^{e} midst he lies

Who from a hayloft falls & dies

So from an other house of hay
His soule directly went away
ffor take mans body at the best
yet omnis Icaro foenum est.

135

fol. 20^{r}

On Prince Henery

Reader wonder thinke it none
That I Speake, and am a stone
Should I not my treasures tell
Wonder then thou mighteese as well
How I could not chuse but breake
If I had not learnd to speake
Here is shrind celestiall d<o>ust,
which a while I keepe in trust,
fol. 20^{v}
Hence amazd aske thou not mee
Those these scacred ashes bee[4]
Purposely it is conceald
ffor if it should be reveld
all that read would by & by
melt them selues to teares & dy.

[4] sic – usually 'Whose these sacred ashes be'

136

fol. 20^{v}

On M*iste*^{r} Stone of New Colledge

Heare worthy of a better Chest
a Pretius stone enclosd w*i*th rest
Whome nature had soe rarely wrought
That Art did it admire and thought
ffrom this example rules to take
How shee by it the like might make
Pallas her selfe desires to weare
still such a iewell at her eare
But sicknesse did it from her wringe
And plast in Libitinas ringe
who changing natures worke a new
death fearefull Image on it drew
Pitty the paine had not bin saued
To sad a stone to bee ingraued.

137

fol. 20^{v}

himselfe

my bedd my graue my shirt my winding sheet
you need not carue a tombe stone, out for mee
A tombe stone I vnto my selfe will bee.

138

fol. 21^{r}

On Q*ueen* Anne who died in march, was keept all Aprill & buried in may

March wi^{t}h his winds hath strook a cedar tall
And weeping Aprill doth lament its fall
may doth intend hir month no flower shall bring
since shee must loose the flower of all the spring
Thus haue march winds bin cause of Aprill showers
And so sadd may must loose her flower of flowers.

139

fol. 21^{v}

On the death of a Bacheler of art

wee all are borne to dy, if ought remaine,
of life from birth to graue, account it game.
Yet so it is Age hath its perfect clause,
youths fall iust guild on death doth euer cause.
But heare are heapes guilte, heare are deaths twaine,
At once a scholler and a man is slaine.
death ouerthrowne with in the braine beganne,
The scholler was more enuied then the man
How falls hee in the springe, in his youth spring,
not by death gentell dart, but by his sting.
A race they agreed vppon, a ciuell strife,
He littell knew *tha*^{t} he had wagd his life,.
They ranne,: yet more, they shote, he home & wonne,
That and his mortall race at once were donne.
Hee ranne vnto his end, yet as was meete,
His worth wee more respected then his feete

Wee feard his virtues would not long endure

on sinfull earth they now grow heauenly pure

Then greeue not frinds, though hee be suddaine dead,

Should he bee punnishd with a painefull Bedd.

may hee bee man and S*ain*^{t} all in a Breath,

death need not stay for him, he stayd for death.

140

fol. 21^{v}

another

Euen such is time that takes no trust

our youth, our eyes, & all wee haue

and payes vs but w*i*th age & dust

who in *th*^{e} darke & silent graue

when wee haue wandred all our wayes

shutts vp *tha*^{t} story of our dayes

But from *tha*^{t} age, *tha*^{t} graue, *tha*^{t} dust

The L*or*^{d} will raise mee up I trust.

141

fol. 22^{v}

on a doctor.

Here lies a doctor once baliall colledge master

who broke that vniversitie head and gaue *th*^{e} schollers a plaster

142

fol. 23^{r}

Epi*taph* on a young man.

Surprizd by greif & sickness here I ly
Stopt in my middle age & sone made dead
yet doe not grudge at god if soone thou dy
But know he trebles [sic.] fauour on thy head
who for the morninge worke equalls the pay
w*i*th those who haue endurd *th*^{e} heat of day.

143

fol. 23^{v}

On Q*ueen* Elizabeth.

The queene was brought by water to white Hall
At euery strooke teares from *th*^{e} oares did fall
More clung about *th*^{e} barge: fish vnder water
wept out theire eys of pearle & swomme blind after
I thinke *th*^{e} barge men might w*i*th easier thighes
Haue rowd her thether through *th*^{e} peoples eyes
f24^{r}
But howsoeuer this my thoughts haue scand
she had come by water, had she came by land./

144

fol. 24^{r}

On M*iste*^{r} James Van Otton.

The first day of this month the last hath bin
To thee deare soule March neuer did com in

So Lion like as now, our lines are made
as fickle as *th*^{e} weather or the shade
March dust growes plenty now, while wasting fate
strikes heare to dust well worth *th*^{e} prouerbs rate
I could be angry at the fates *tha*^{t} they
from vs this man of men thus stole away
meane they a kingdome to vndoe or make
The vniuerse a cripple, while they take
from vs to cheife a part, whose art knew how
To make a man a man nor would allow
natures Heterecklite still for to remaine
Irregular but w*i*th a Iugling paine
deceiue men of their greife, & make them know
That he cold care more then ere chance or foe
dard to instring, death now growne politique
while Otton liud her selfe was weake & sicke
ffor want of foode, therefore at him shee aimd
who bard hir of her purpose, all is maimed
Alls out o ioyne: for in the fatall cross
Behold deaths triumph & our publique loss.

145

fol. 28^{r}

an Ep*itap*^{h} on D*octo*^{r} fletcher bishop of L*ondon* R: C: [Richard Corbett?]

here lyes the first *tha*^{t} gaue England to see
A byshop to marey a Lady Lady
the cause of his death was secret & hid
he cryed oh I dy, & soe he did.

146

fol. 32^{r}

on *th*^{e} L*or*^{d} Lampas who died in *th*^{e} act of venery

Here 6 foote deape in his Last Sleepe
The L*or*^{d} Lampas lies
His way he made w*i*th his owne blade
Through his M*ist*^{ris} thies
If through *tha*^{t} hole to heauen he stole
I dare boldly say
fol. 32^{v}
He was *th*^{e} last *tha*^{t} *tha*^{t} way past
And first *tha*^{t} found *tha*^{t} way./

147

fol. 32^{v}

On Prince Henery. D*octo*^{r} Iuxone

Nature waxing old beganne
This to desire
Once to make vp such a man
men might admire
And so weth to finde a thred[5]
shee rews it since
In 18 yeeres she perfected
A Preerelesse [sic.] Prince
Death *th*^{e} moth of natures art
This danger spied
Whose sight reuiud each part

[5] Usually, 'and so with too fine a thread'

And no man died[6]

And so in tine [sic.] amends to make

And helpe this error

Remorslesse death vntimely brake

This louely Morrour

O death beware a surfeit for tis said

That no man cares to liue now Henryes dead./

148

fol. 35^{r}

On M*iste*^{r} Bridgman

One Pitt containes him now who could not die

Before a thousand Pitts in him did lie

Soe many spotts vpon his flesh were showne

Cause on his soule sin fastened all most none.

149

fol. 36^{v}

14 Song vppon a bellowes mender

Here lyes Tom short *th*^{e} king of fellowes

Whom in his time was a mender of bellowes

But when he came to *th*^{e} howre of his death

Hee that made bellowes could not make breath

[6] Usually, 'death the work of nature's art the danger spied, | or by this sight each heart reviv'd, and no man died'

150

fol. 37[r]

on a gentleman dying presantly after his wife.

Shee first deceased, he after liu'd, & tried
To liue without her, liked it not, but dyed.

151

fol. 41[v]

On the death of Q*ueen* Anne R*ichard* C*orbett*

Noe not a quash sadd poets double you
There is not greife nought w*i*[th]out you
Or that it will assuage ill newes
To say shees dead, that was your muse
Ioyne with death to make these times
more grieuious w*i*[th] most grieuious rimes
And if it be possible deare eyes),
The famous universityes.
If both her eyes be maches sleepe
Or if you will be royall, (weepe.
fol. 42[r]
forbeare the presse, there's none will looke
Before the marke for a new booke
Why should you tell the world, what witts
Grow at new parkes, or campas pitts,
Or what conceites you stumble on
Taking the ayre towards Trumpington
Now you graue tutors w*hi*[ch] doe temper
your long and short with que and semper.
doe now when your owne are done

make for my Ladies oldest sonne

verses, which he will turne to proses

When she shall read what you compose

how for an Epithite that fayles

Bite of your vnpoeticke nayles

In iest: why should y*o*^{u} in these straines

Punnish your fingers for your <nayles> ^braines^

Know from hence forth greifs with all part

Consists in nature not in art.

And verses that are studyed

Mourne for theme selues not for *th*^{e} dead

Harke the Queenes Epitaph shall be

noe other then her pedigree

for lines in blud cut out are stronger

Then lines in marble and last longer

Then such a verse shall neuer fade

What is begotten & not made.

Hir father, brother, husband King

Royall relation & from her spring

A prince, a princesse & from those

fayre certaintyes, & rich hope growes

Hir poetry shall be secure

While denmarke, B^r^ittaine france endure

fol. 42^{v}

Enough in earth: what p*ro*moote those higher

Saue heauen, to p*er*fect her desire

And as a strange starr once entised

And gouern'd those wise men to Christ

Euen such a herauld starr this yeare

did beckon to her for to appeare

A starr w*hi*^{ch} did not to our nation

Portend her death, but her translation

for when such harbingers are seene

God crownes a saint, not kills a Queene.

152

fol. 45^{v}

An epitapht on *th*^{e} Du*ke* of Buckinghame

Here lyes the best & worst of fate

Two princes loue, *th*^{e} peoples hate

Greate enuyes feare, *th*^{e} kindomes eye

A man to sharpe, an angell by

His ownes liues wonder, pale deaths glory

The greate mans volume, all times story.

153

fol. 45^{v}

On D*octo*r Donne a Epitapht by R*ichard* Corbet

He that would write an Epitapht on thee

And doe it well, must first beginn to bee

Such as thou wert for none can truly know

Thy worth, thy life but he *tha*^{t} hath liued soe.

He must haue witt to spare, & to hurle downe

Enough to keepe *th*^{e} gallants out of towne

He must haue learning plenty, both *th*^{e} Lawes

Ciuill & com*m*on to iudge any cause

Diuinity greate store aboue *th*^{e} rest

Not of *th*^{e} last edition but the best

He must haue language trauill both *th*^{e} arts

Iudgement to vse or else he wants thy parts

He must haue frinds *th*[e] highest, able to doe
Such as Mæcenas & Augustus too
He must haue such a sickenes, such a death
Or else his vaine descriptions come beneath
Who then shall write an Epitapht, for thee
He must be dead first. Let it a lone for mee.

154

fol. 47[r]

On Doctor Johnson

wert but a single death or but one Coarce
borne to the graue, itt had not bin of foarce
[T]'haue caused a generall mourning, wee might then
haue well compounded w*i*[th] our greife & been
Lesse prodigall vpon one tombe, and kept
some teares some funeralls to haue wept.
but when phisitians feel deaths fatall knife
Tis not one lifes Loss, but a Loss of Life
and when we mourne for *the*[m] we mourne with all
our owne helths ruins, *tha*[t] w*hi*[ch] then doth fall
[W/T]hen heets [sic.] a cart of teares, that now denyes
The iust exhauster of his dry wept eyes
*th*at this sad worke of fate *th*[e] murthering thee
hath caused no death, but a mortality.
[N]ow w*i*[th] more freedoms may she vse hir power
vpon poor helpeless bodyes, whose last hower
[So] often was preuented with thy skill
where by deaths bounded rage slowlier kill
Thou was none of the patient torturing broode
whose art is bent in letting vitall bloode

whose griping hand *th*^{e} prouerb loaths are much

as Lawyers or the hangmans streching touch

fol. 47^{v}

that are soe far from yeelding any ease

as their extortion dulls the disease

by their vnsauery druggs & cessiue rate

bringing a worse consumption on the state

that can prolonge a sikeness till they haue

Left the poore man quite naked, & fit fore graue

then w*i*$^{th\ a}$ demuer countenace at last

can say hees noe man of this world, hees past

hope of recouery, when indeed tis they,

haue suckt his substance past recouery

and when they thinge *tha*^{t} they may well desearue

In killing him *tha*^{t} should but liues to sterue

I doe but speake of these to sett out thee

whose honest hand near toucht a causeless fee

Thou weart a trew phisitian & cooldst repaire

euen with a speech a hart, halfe broke w*i*th care

Apolloss both skills wear well louid of thee

that with his druggs imbract his poetry

season thy medisins w*i*th a sweeter pill

which made all relish them, against their will

only in thy self, thy phisike lost hir part

because thy nature was aboue thy art./

155

fol. 52^{r}

On M*iste*^{r} ffra*ncis* Lancasters dogg drunckards death.

What hangd & drownd. oh most prodigious fate
So traytours suffer twice; yet now of late
more mercies found, *th*^{e} rack *tha*^{t} once did trie
confession only, forces now to dy.
Alas poore curre; tis like a wapping death
A halter & two tides to stoppe one breath.
Or as *th*^{e} Irish doe, they are soe bould
to cutt the head off when the bodies cold.
Drunckard farwell. tis well thou art a dogg
Hee that dyes drunckard, truly dyes a hogg.

156

fol. 53^{v}

On M*iste*r Steuens death M*iste*^{r} Wren

Be not offended at our sad complaint,
Yet quire of Angels *tha*^{t} haue gaind a saint.
where all perfection met in skill, & voice
wee mourne our losse, but wee com*m*and o*u*^{r}[7] choice.

[7] Usually 'your'

157

fol. 57^{r}

an Epitaph on D*octo*^{r} flecher byshop of London

Here lyes the first *tha*^{t} gaue England to see
A Byshop marry (to) a Ladyes Lady
the cause of his death was secret & hid
he cryed oh I dy & soe he did. R: C: [Richard Corbett?]

158

fol. 59^{r}

On king Iames death G.*eorge* Morly.

All that haue eyes now wake & weepe
hee whose waking was our sleepe
is fallen a sleepe, & waketh neuer
shall wake noe more; til waked euer
deaths iron band close those eyes
that nere at once three kingdomes spyes
noth for fore see, & to preuent
dangers soe soone as they are ment.
take heede whose working brayne alone
wrought all men quiet but his owne.
now lies at rest, oh let him haue
the peace hee lent vs to his graue
if noe Naboth, all his raigne
weare for his fruitfull viniard slaine
If noe Vrina lost her life
because he had soe faire a wife
then let soe Shimeies curses wound
dishonor or p*ro*faine his ground.

Lett noe blacke mouth, ranke breath curre
peacefull Iames his ashes stirre.
Princes are gods, oh doe not then
rake in theire graues to proue them men.

159

fol. 59^{v}

On Byshop Rauis R*ichard* C*orbett*

When I past Paules & trauild in *tha*^{t} walke
wheare all our British siners sweare & talke
old hary ruffins, bancherouts, southsayer's,
& youth whose cousinage, is as old as theres.
& theire behould *th*^{e} body of my Lord
troued vnder foot by uice w*hi*^{ch} he abhord.
it wounded mee the landlord of all times
should lett long liues & leases of their crimes.
But to his saueing honours, doth afford
scearce as much time as to *th*^{e} Profets gourd
Yet since swift flights & enuy hath best ends
Like breath of Angells, w*hi*^{ch} a blessing sends.
& vanisheth w*i*th all whilst fowler deeds
expect a tedious haruest of bad seeds
I blame not fame nor nature if they gaue
where they could add noe more *th*^{e} last a graue
and iustly doe they greiued freinds forbeare
bubles, or Alablaster boyes, to teare
fol. 60^{r}
ore thy religious dust, but bid men know,
thy life w*hi*^{ch} such elusions cannot show.
for thou hast dyed amoung those happy ones

who trust not in their supersition's.
theire hired Epitaph, & periurd stone
W*hi*^{ch} oft belyes the soule when it is gone.
to dust commit thy body, as it lyes
to toungs of liuing men, not vnborne eyes.
w*ha*^{t} p*ro*fetts thee a short of load, what good,
if on thy course a marble quarry stood.
Lett those *tha*^{t} feare theire rising purchase vaults
and send their statutes to accuse their faults.
as if like birds *tha*^{t} pickt at painted grapes
their iudge know not, theire persons from their ^shapes^.
whilst thou assur'd by the easy dust
shallt spring at first, they would not yet *th*^{ey} must
nor need the chanlear boast, whose Pyramis
aboue the host & alter reared is:
for though thy body fill an vglier roome
thou shalt not change deeds w*i*th him for his toom^be.^

160

fol. 59^{v}

An Epitaph on K*ing* Iames G*eorge* M*orley*

for two an twentie yeares of care
for prouiding such an heyre
that to *th*^{e} place wee did before
make twice two and twentie more
for his dayes trauell, midnight watches,
for his chast sleepe, stolen by snatches.
for two firce kingdomes ioyn'd in one
for all he did & ment to hau done.
doe this for him, write ore his dust

Iames the Peacefull, & *th*e Iust.

161

fol. 61r

On Owen the butlers death of C*hrist* C*hurch*

manners whether are you fled
when you shall assist *th*e dead?
can gentry, place, & merit haue
noe longer title to his graue.
then honest Owen; where are then
O where are all his rascall cuntrimen?
for he that shall but ouer looke
the charters of his Butterie booke.
f61v
shall find about 300 Lowry knaues
Griffin, Powell, Loyd, that haue
been cherisht by his hand, & fed
though now full high they weare their head,
as they had neuer tast, nor seene
Owens bounty at the screene.
Pride; pride; remember they would catch
his mercy from *th*e Butterie hatch
when hee floung out full chearefully
white loafe & cheise from Banbury
to them *tha*t till that day would prayse,
in their broken strangled phrayse.
their cuntry tost meat. Anglesay
o how alas and meloday.

162

fol. 64^{r}

Vpon the death of 3 mise in a mousetrap

A senior Academicke mouse
for her learning pray regard her
A fellow student of our house
well reade in Mineruaes larder.
Insteed of double commons fedd
on greasy capps & schollers gowndes
with gaudy fest embroderedd
shee vsed to scout beyond her boundes
Keepe randevou's abroade, & by degrees
knaw auger hoales in Trunckes to scofe for cheise
But out alas by dire mishap
this little nibblers taken
In a foule disastrous trap
w*i*th candl's ends, greene cheise & Bacon.
Her coward fate w*i*th keen edgd bill
and deaths shaft armd in its owne shape
durst not presume a mouse to kill
O thrice vnhappy mouse to scape
The nine liued catt, *th*^{e} very divles finn
and seeke a death by such a double Ginn.
In her death fate wrought a wounder
for least *tha*^{t} shee should dy a one
Lucina rent her quite a sunder
and soe by art made 3 of one.
shee had her belly belly full before
yet hung'ry fedd on her fate
She crambde her guts still more & more

and stuf't her panch w*i*th all *th*^{e} baite

shee filled her selfe till shee did cracke her skinn

& yet went emptier out then shee came in.

fol. 64^{v}

And you my yongling captiue mouse

had dame Lucinaes geater curse

you prison breake by her aduice

but were committed to a worse.

your owne damme was your trap, her bate

your suddaine death, shee led yea theither

to bee partaker of her fate

and only liue to dy together

To Plutoes Court, & for such fate as these

goe nible of his eares, insteed of cheese.

163

fol. 65^{r}

on hobson the Cambridge carrier.

Here lies Hobson moungst his many betters

a man not learnd, yet a man of letters.

his carriage was well knowne oft haue he gone

an Embassage twixt father & the sonne.

In Cambridge few, to his praise be it spoken

but will remember him by some token

from thence to London rode he day by day

till death benighted him he lost his way.

nor wonder thinke it *tha*^{t} he thus is gone

for most men know he long was drawing one.

his teame was of the best, nor could he haue

fol. 65^{v}

beene mired any where, but in *th*[e] graue.
and there he stickes in deed, still like to stand
vntill some Angell lend a helping hand.
thus rest in peace thou euer toyling swaine
And supreme wagoner next Charles waine.

164

fol. 70[v]

William Strode on M*iste*[r] Iames Van Otten's death march –i

The first day of this month *th*[e] last hath bin
of life to thee deare soule march nere cam in
No Lyon like as now, our liues are made
as fickle as the weather, or this shade
March dust growes plenty now, while wasting fate
Strikes thee to dust, all worth *th*[e] p*ro*uerbs rate.
I could be ang[ry] w*i*[th] *th*[e] gods that they
fol. 71[r]
this man of men so soone haue stole away.
meane they a kingdome to vndoe, or make
the vniuerse a Cripple whilst they take
from vs so cheife a part, whose art know how
to make a man a man, or would allow
nature an Heteroclite, still to remaine
Irregular, but with a iugling paine
deceiue men of their greife & make *the*[m] know
that he could care more then are chance or foe
dare to infring, death now growes Politicke
While Otten liu'd, he selfe was weake & sicke
for want of food, therefore at him she aimde
who bard her of her purpose, all is mainde,

alls out of ioint, for in this fatall crosse,
behould deaths triumph, & our fatall losse.

165

fol. 71^{v}

On M*iste*^{r} Jo*hn* Stanhope.

Tis indeed, tis Stanhopes ayre
whose corps ly mufled on this beare
w*hi*^{c}h a pure soule before itt went
enobled more then his discent
but count his virtues not his yeares
or guesse him by his fathers teares
and then noe sonne or heyre desired
but the hole name & race expird.
not doeth his death cause this our woe
deaths our nature, not our foe.
but that his life soe soone being gone
made him a guest, & not a sonne.
that hee snatcht in's minority
did rather loose his life then dy.
and now his yeares being vnderstood
to be soe short & yet soe good
wee may diuide our passions soe
that wee may greiue yet wonder toe.
his witt so ripe, in youth soe greene
made him ancient at fifteene
and now you see his face noe more
you would date him at threescore
but if you would memorialls keepe
of his faire body lyes a sleepe

that looking on the toyes you weare
though hee be gon yould thinke him heare
fol. 72^{r}
first thinke you doe his soule noe grace
to catch his ribbond or his lace
or as the Iewes did heare to fore
so keepe his earering to adore
if for his memory you care
weare his manners not his haire
thinke on him in his latest rest
when death had spaund vpon his brest
and huold those deadly Atomes on
Enamold with corruption
how still *tha*^{t} harmelesse soule remaind
amoung so many spotts unstaind.
o why was fate soe soone a snere
to enchase those ugly rubyes there
nor will wee mittigate the name
and call them Meacells for the same
wee on our brothers body tryed,
not yet complaind we *tha*^{t} he dyed;
or how could pindust cast on skinn
cause his death to enter in.
nor could then his Physitians skill
cause such fleabites for to kill
noe this was fatall, twas his lott
that from euery little spott
should he draw a line athwart
to the canter of his hart
or else god from some higher place
seede manna in his face

fol. 72^{v}

and sure tis soe or else heed neare

haue put him in his Omer heere

then lett's noe more lament

the dead whose life soe swell was spent.

that now for land he heauen doth share

by his death a greater heyre

but ourselues. for sure tis worse

to be *th*^{e} mourner then the course.

166

fol. 72^{v}

On the death of a Gentleman

Greece likeneth man to an inuented[8] tree

whose boughes *th*^{e} rootes, whose rootes *th*^{e} boughes should be

Greece dotes in this for trees their fruit doth ^bring^

In Autume, heer's a tree brings his in spring

A golden fruite w*hi*^{ch} when Procerpina spies

the Hesperian aples watch not in her eyes

thus Iealous of *th*^{e} fruite euen both together

take fruite & tree lest pluck it chance to wither

& now *th*^{e} tree doth spring w*hi*^{ch} once his fruite did yeld

doth spring afreesh in *th*^{e} Elysian fild.

[8] usually 'inverted'

167

fol. 72^{v}

One the death of a Twine W*illiam* S*trode*

Where are you now Astrologers *tha*^{t} looke
for petty accidens in heauenly books
two twins to whome influence gaue breath
differ in more the fortune life & death
While both weare warmd, for *tha*^{t} was all they heyres
vnlesse some feeble by sayd life was thers
by wauering chaing of health they seemd to try
w*hi*^{ch} of those two must liue, for one must dy
fol. 73^{r}
as if one soule allotted to sustaine
that lump w*hi*^{ch} after ward was cut in twaine
now seru'd them both, whose limited restraint
from double virtue, made them both soe faint
but when *tha*^{t} common soule away should fly
death killing one expected both should dy
Shee hitt, & was deceiued, *tha*^{t} other part
when to supply *th*^{e} weake suruiuors hart
soe death where shee was cruell, seemd most kind
Shee aimed at two, & killd but halfe a child.

168

fol. 73^{r}

On S*i*^{r} Thomas Sauill dying of *th*^{e} small pox.

Take greedy death a body here intombd
that by a thosand stroakes was made one wound
where all thy shafts bestucke with fatall aime

Vntill a quiuer this thy marke he came
had Ca*e*sar fifty wounds to lett in thee
because a troupe of men might seeme to bee
comprised in that braue spirit, this had more
whose deaths weare equall w*i*th *th*^{e} fatall store
of hopefull worth, though euery wound did reach
the very hart, yet none could make a breach
into his soule, a soule mere fully drest
with virtuous gemms, then was his soule opprest
with hatefull spotts, & therefore euery scarr.
When death it selfe is dead shall be a starr.

169

fol. 121^{r}

An Epitaph on M*ist*^{r}*es*^{s} Elizabe*th* ^Mary^ Needham

As sinne makes grosse the soule, and thickens it
To fleshly dulnes, so the spotles white
Of virgin purenes made thy flesh as cleere
As other soules: thou couldst not tarry here
All soule in both parts: and what could it bee
The Resurrection should bestow on thee
All ready glorious? thine Innocence.
That better shrowd sent thee departing hence
As saints shall rise: yet hee whose bounty may
Enlighten the bright sun with double day,
And make it more outshine it selfe, then now
It can the moone, shall cloth thy varnishd brow
with light aboue that sunne, when thou shalt bee
No lower in thy place then maiestye
Crownd with a virgins wreath, out passing there

The saints as much as thou didst mortalls here

Bee this thy hope, and while thine ashes lye

Asleepe in dust dreame of Eternity.

170

fol. 121^{v}

An Epitaph

fol. 120^{v}

Man newly borne is at full age to dye

But not to liue, till the minority.

If thrice seauen yeares bee past: and must thou fall

Iust then when thou wert ripe for life? must all

That spring of former hopes grow to be lop'd

Amidst theyr triumph? So the rose is crop'd

As soone as blowne: hadst thou lesse fragrant bin,

witherd in soule or furrowd in thy skin

Thou mightst neglectedly haue drop'd from hence

Now heaun thee pulls, thou it, with violence.

171

fol. 121^{v}

An Epitaph

Beneath this brazen plate those ashes ly

Which are the Embers of Eternity

As Embers hide more sparkes of fire, then shee

Had lights of vertue; now asleepe they bee

But yet shall wake againe, and like the sun

Theyr rayes shall burne without consumption./

172

fol. 124[r]

An Epitaph

Keepe well this sacred Pawne thou bed of stone
For thou must render it a saint, each bone
shall bee requir'd, the very shrowd shall rise
Turn'd to a robe of light. Spend not your eyes
ye that lou'd her and vertue; though the mold
contain them both, though charity grow cold
since shee is soe, yet know that after sleepe
She'el rise more fresh; and memory will keepe
Due watch about her to preserue her name
Vntill her nature wake death cannot tame
The life of hope; bee sure that where she lyes
The graue is but an vsher to the skyes.

173

fol. 124[r]

An Epitaph on M*iste*[r] Fishborne
the great London Benefactor & his executor

What are thy gaines o death if on man ly
stretch'd in a bed of clay whose charity
Doth hereby get occasion to redeeme
Thousands out of the graue: though cold hee seeme
Hee keepes those warme that else would sue to thee
E'un thee to ease them of theyr penury
Sorrow I would but cannot thinke him dead
Whose parts are rather all distributed
To those that liue ihis pitty lendeth eyes

vnto the blind and to the cripple thighes
Bones to the shatterd corps, his hand doth make
Long armes for those that begg and cannot take
All are supply'd with limbs and to his freind
Hee leaues his heart, the selfe same heart behind
scarce man and wife so much one flesh are found
As these one soule; the mutuall ty that bound
The first prefer'd in heau'n to pay on earth
fol. 123^{v}
Those happy fees which made them striue for death
made them both doners of each others store,
And each of them his owne executor
Those hearty summes are twice conferd by either
And yet so giuen as if conferd by neither
Least some incroching gouernour might pare
Those almes and damne himselfe with pooremens shar[e] [page cut]
lameing once more the lame, and killing quite
Those halfe dead carcasses, but due foresight
His partner is become the hand to act
Theyr ioynt decree, who else would fain haue lackt
This longer date, that so hee might avoyd
The praise wherwith good eares would not bee cloyd
For praises taint our charity and steale
From heau'ns reward; this caus'd them to conceale
Theyr great intendment, till the graue must needs
Both hide the Author and reveale the deeds
His widdow freind still liues to take *th*^{e} care
Of children left behind: why is it rare
That they who neuer <tooke> ^tied^ the marriage knott
And but good deeds no issue euer gott
Should haue a troupe of children? all mankind

Beget them heyres, heyres by theyr freinds resignd
Back into natures keepeing th'aged <man> head
Turn'd creeping child of them is borne and bredd
The prisons are theyr cradles where they hush
Those peirceing cryes when other parents blush
To see a crooked birth, by these the maim'd
Deform'd weake offcasts are sought out and claim'd
To rayse a Progeny: before on death
Thus they renew mens liues with double breath
And whereas others gett but halfe a man
Theyr nobler art of generation can
Repayr the soule it selfe, and see that none
Bee cripled more in that then in a bone
For which the Cleargy being hartned on
weake soules are curd in theyr Physition
whose superannuat ha[.]k[9] or threedbare cloak
fol. 123[r]
Now doth not make his words so vainly spoke
To peoples laughter: this munificence
At once hath giu'n them eares him eloquence
Now Henryes sacriledge is found to bee
The ground that sets of Fishbornes charity
who from lay ownders rescueing church lands
Buyes out the iniury of wrongfull hands
And shewes the blacknes of the others night
By lustre of his day that shines so bright.
Sweet bee thy rest, vntill in heau'n thou see
Those thankefull soules, on earth preservd by thee
Whose russet liu'ryes shall a Robe repay

[9] usually 'hat'

That by reflex makes white the milky way
Then shall those feeble limbs which as thine owne
Thou here didst cherish, then indeed bee known
To bee thy fellow limbs, all ioyned in one
For temples here renew'd the Corner stone
shall yeild thee thanks, when thou shalt wonder at
The churches glory but so poore of late
Glad of thy almes! because thy tender Eare
was neuer stop'd at oryes, it there shall heare
The Angells quire. In all things thou shalt see
Thy gifts were but religious Vsury.

174

fol. 125^{r}

On the death of Doctour Lancton President of Maudlin Colledge

When men for iniuries vnsatisfy'd
For hopes cutt off, for debts not fully payd
For legacies in vain expected mourne
Over theyr owne respects within the vrne
Races of teares all striueing first to fall
As frequent are as eye and funerall;
Then high swolne sighes drawne in and sent out ^strong^
Seeme to call backe the soule or goe along
Goodnes is seldome such a theam of woe
Vnless to her owne tribe some one or two
But here's a man. (alas a shell of a man!)
fol. 124^{v}
whose innocence more white then siluer swan
now finds a streame of teares; such perfect greife
That in the traine of mourners hee is cheife

who liues the greatest gainer; and would faine
See now preferd vnto his loss againe
The webb of nerues with subtill branches spred
Ouer the little world are in theyr head
Scarce so vnited, as in him were knitt
All his dependants: Hee that striues to sitt
so lou'd of all trust bee a man as square
As vertues selfe; which those that fly and fear
Can neuer hate. how seldome haue wee seene
such store of flesh ioyn'd with so little sin?
His body was not greater then his soule
whose limbes were vertues able to controule
All grudg of sloth: and as the bodys weight
Hal'd to the centure; so the soule as light
Heau'd vpward to her goale. This ciuill iurye
Could not houlde out, but made them part as farre
As earth and heauen: from whence the one shall [deleted word] ^com^
To make her mate more fresh less cumbersome
After so sound a sleepe so sweet a rest:
And both shall then appeare so trimly drest
As freinds that goe to meet: the body shall
then seeme a soule, the soule Angelicall
A beautious smile shall passe from that to this
The ioyning soule shall then the body kisse
with its owne lipps. so great shall bee the store
of ioy and loue, that now thei'l part no more
such hope hath dust! besides which happines
death hath not made his share on earth the lesse
or quite bereft him of his honors here
But added more. for liueing hee did steere
The fellowes only: but since hee is dead

He’es made a president vnto theyr head.

175

fol. 126^{r}

On the death of S*i*^{r} Thomas Leigh.

You that affright with lamentable notes
The servants from theyr beefe; whose hungry throats
vex the brown porters surly conscience
<T>hat bless the mint for coyning less *th*^{e} pence
You whose vnknown and nearly payd desarts
Begg silently wthin and knock at hearts
You whose commanding worth makes men beleeue
That you a kindnes when you receiue
All sorts of them that want your teares now lend
A houskeeper a patron and a freind
Is lodgd in clay: the man whose table fed
so man when hee liu’d, since hee is dead
himselfe is turnd to food: whose chymney burned
fol. 125^{v}
So freely then is now to ashes turn’d
The man which life vnto the muses gaue
seekes life of them a lasting epitaph
And hee, from whose esteeme all vertues found
A iust reward, now prostrate on the ground
like some huge ancient oke that ere it fell
Could not bee measur’d by the rule so well
desires a faithfull comment of his dayes
such as should neither ly to wrong nor praise
But o what muse is halfe so pure so stronge
what marble sheets can keep his name so longe

As only hee hath liu'd, then who can tell
A perfect story of his liueing well
The noble fire that spurd and whetted on
His brauely vertuous resolution
Could not so soone bee quench'd as petty soules
whose weaker sparks an ach or thought controules
His life burn'd to the snuff, a snuff that needs
No socket to conceale the stench, but feeds
Remembrance with delight, his manly breath
Felt no desease but age, and call'd for death
Before it durst intrude, or thought to try
That strength of limbs that souldes integrity
Looke on siluer hayre, his gracefull brow
And grauity her selfe might Leigh auow
Her father, Time his schoolmate Fifty yeares
one wedlocke hee embrac'd, a date that beares
Fayre scope, if soule and body chance to bee
so long a couple as his wife and hee
But number you his deeds, they so outpass
The largest size of any mortall glasse
That though hee liu'd a thousand some would cry
Alas hee dy'd in his minoritye
His dayes and deeds would ne'er bee counted euen
wouthout eternity which now is giuen
such descants poore men make miss him mo^re^
fol. 125^{r}
Then six great men, *tha*^{t} keeping howse before
After a spurt vnconstantly are fledd
Away to London: but the man thats dead
And tarryes longer there and waits for vs

176

fol. 126^{v}

On the death of S*i*^{r} Thomas Pelham.

Meerly for death to greiue and mourne
were to repine that man was borne;
When weake old age doth a sleepe
Twer foule ingratitud. to weepe.
These threds alone should pull out teares
whose sudden cracke breakes of some yeares
Here ‘tis not soe; full distance here
sunders the cradle from the beere
A fellow traveller hee hath bene
so long with time, so worne to skin
That were hee not iust now bereft
his body first the soule had left
Threescore and ten is natures date
our iourney when wee come in late;
beyond that stint the overplus
was granted not to him but vs
for his owne sake the sun neer stood
But only for the peoples good
fol. 126^{r}
Eu’n so his breath held out by ayre
Which poore men vtterd in they prayer
And as his goods were lent to giue
So ten yeares more to him were told
Enough to make another old
O that death would still so doe
or else on good men would bestow.
That wast yeeres, which vnthrifts slinge

<A> Away by theyr distemperinge
That some might thriue by this decay
As well as that of land and clay
Twas now well donne: no cause to moane
On such a seasonable stone
where death is but an host; wee sin
not bidding welcome to his Inne:
sleepe, sleep thy rest good man embrace
sleep, sleepe th'ast trode a weary race.

177

fol. 127^{r}

On the death of the yong Baronet Portman, dying of an impostume in the head

Is death so cunning now, that all her blow
Aimes at the head? doth now her wary bow
make surer worke, then heretofore the steele
Slew warlike heroes only in the heele?
Now find out slights, when men themselues begin
To bee theyr proper fates by new found sir?
Tis cowardize to make a wound so sure
No art in killing where no art can cure
was it for hate of learninge, that shee smote
This upper shoppe where all the muses wrought?
Learning shall crosse her drift and duely try
All wayes and meanes of immortallity.
Because her head was crushd, doth shee desire
Our equall shame? in vaine shee doth aspire
Noe, nor wee know where e're shee make a breach
Her poysonous sting only the heel can reach
Looke on the soule of man, the very harts

The head it selfe is but a lower part

Yet hath shee straen'd her vtmost tyranny

And done her worst in that shee came so high

Had shee reserv'd this stroke for haughty men

For politique contriuers iustly then

The punishment were matchd with the offence

But when humility and innocence

So indiscreetly in the head are hitt

death hath done murther and shall dy for it

Thinke it no fauour shown, because the braine

As voyd of sence, and then more free of paine

Thinke it no kindnes when so stealingly

Hee rather seem'd to iest away then dye

And like the innocent the widdowes child,

fol. 126^{v}

Cry'd out my head, my head, and sweetly dy'd

Thinke it was rather double cruelty

Slaughter intended on his name; that hee

whose thoughts were nothing tainted nothing vaine

might seeme to hide corruption in his braine

How easy might this plott bee wiped away

If any pen his worth could open lay.

For which those harlot prayses which wee reare

In common dust as much to slender weare

As great for others. boasting Elegyes

Must here bee dumbe; desert that ouerweightes

All o*u*^{r} reward, stops all o*u*^{r} praise, least wee

[mi]ght seeme to giue alike to them and thee

Wherfore an humble verse and such a strayne

As mine will hide the truth cause others faine

178

fol. 140^{v}

Vpon a Pinmaker.

Here lyes the shame of fates ô cruell death
Why didst thou rob Tom Pinner of his breath
Why when he liu'd by fitting of a pin
made better dust then thou hast made of him.

179

fol. 140^{v}

Vpon M*iste*^{r} Bowling R*ichard* C*orbett*

If gentlemen could tame *th*^{e} fates or witts
Delude them, Bowling had not dyed yett
But one yet death orerules in iudgement sitts
And sayes our sinnes are stronger *tha*^{n} our witts.

180

fol. 140^{v}

Raydeyns verses before he killd himselfe.

[What] should I doe that am vndone
Where shall I fly my selfe to shune;
Ah me my selfe, my selfe must kill,
And yet I dye against my will,
In starry letters I behold,
my death in the heauens enrold
There find I writ in sky aboue
That I poore I, must dye for loue
Twas not my loue deserues to dye

O no, it was vnworthy I;

fol. 140^{r}

I for her loue should not haue dyed,

But that I had noe worth beside,

Ah mee that loue such woe procures

for without her now loue endures

I for her virtues her doe serue

Doth such a loue a death deserue,.

181

fol. 141^{r}

An Epitaph on s*i*^{r} Iohn Walter L*or*^{d} cheife Baron.

farewell example, liuing rule farewell

Whose practise shewd goodnes was possible

Who reachd *th*^{e} full out strechd perfection

of man of Lawyer & of christian

Suppose a man more streight *tha*^{n} reason is

whose grounded habit could not tread amisse

Though reason slepd, a man who still esteemd

His wife his bone, who still his children deemd

His limbes & future selfe; his seruants frinds

Lou'd his familiars for them selues not [en]ds

Soe wise & prouident that dayes ere past

he ne're wishd backe againe, by whose fore cast

Times locke, times baldnes, future time were ^one^

Since nought could mende nor marre one action

That man was he.

Suppose an Aduocate

In whose all conquering tongue true right was fate

That could not pleade amoung *th*^{e} gounded throng

Rong causes right, nor right full causes wrong
But made *th*^{e} burnish truth to shine more bright
Then could the witnesse or Act in sight.
Who did soe breifely soe perspicuousl[y]
Vntie the knots of darke perplexity
That words appeard like thoughts, & might deriue
To dull eares knowledge most Intuitiue
A iudge soe weighd that frinds & one of vs
weare heard lie Titus & Sempronius.
All eare, noe eie, noe hand, off being par'd
The Eies affections & the hands reward
Whose barre & concience were but true in name
Sentence & closet-censure still the same
fol. 140^{v}
That aduocate, that Iudge was he.
Suppose
Around & setled Christian, not like those
That stande by fitts but of that sanctity
As by repentance might starre better be.
Whose life was like his latest houre, whose way
Out went the Iourneys ende, where others say.
Who slighted not the Gospel for his Lawe
But lou'd the church more then the bench, & sawe
That all his Righteou<o>snes had yet neede fee
one Aduocat beyond himselfe. Twas he
To this good man, Iudge *Chris*^{t}ian now is giuen
faire Memory, now Iudgement, & blest heauen

182

fol. 141^{v}

on *th*^{e} death of an infant

The realing world turn'd poet, made a play

I came to see it, dislikt it, went a way.

183

fol. 142^{r}

An Epitaph on s*i*^{r} Henery Lees 3 children

Three branches death here prum'd from Henr*y* Lee

Lucy, Elizabeth & Antony

This Trinity is ioyned to that in heauen

While three suruiue, to make the stars iust euen

Betweene there god & parents, one day shall

At once deliuer vnto either all

Meane while sleepe Lucy: day star was thy name

And such wert thou: soe rest & rise the same.

184

fol. 143^{v}

On D*octo*^{r} Corbets father

Vincent Corbet farther know^n^e<e>

By poynters name then by his owne

Where lyes engaged till the day

Of raysing bones, & quickning stay

Noe wonder reader that he hath

Two surnames in his Epitaph

for this one doth comprehend

All that two families Could lend

And if to know more arts then any

Could multiply one ^in^to many

Hence a Colony lyes then

Both of qualities, & men

Yeares he liu'd well nigh fowrescore

But count his virtues he liu'd more

And number them by dooing good

He liu'd the age before the floud

Should wee vndertake his glory

Truth would seeme faind, & fameble glory

Besides this tablet, were to small

Adding the pittars [sic.], and the wall

But of his volume much is found

Wright in many a firtle ground

Where the printer thee affoords

Earth for paper, trees for words.

He was natuers factor here

And liedger for euery shire.

fol. 143^{r}

To supply the ingenuous wants

Of soone spring fruite & forreigne plants

Simple he was, & wise with all

His purse noetase, nor prodigall

Poorer in substance, then in frinds

future & publique wer his ends

His conscience like, his dyetty such

As neither tooke, nor left to much

Soe that made Lawes were endlesse growne

To him, hee ^n^e<a>ded but his owne.

Did he his neighbours bid like those

That feast them only to enclose.
Or w*i*th theyre rost meat ract theyr rents
Or Cozon them with theyr ^odd^ Consents
Noe: the free meeting at his board
Did but one liberall sense affoard
Noe close nor arte vnder stood
But only Loue, & neighbourhood.
His almes were such as Paul definds
Not causes to be sau'd but signes.
W*i*th almes by faith, hope, loue, layd downe
Layd vp what now hee weares a Crowne.
Besides his fame, his goods, his life,
He left a greiued sone, and wife.
Stampe sorrow scarce to be beleiued
When last the sonne, & heyre is greiued.

185

fol. 148^{v}

On S*i*^{r} Water <alli.e.> Rawly

Euer such is time that take in trust,
Our youth and ioy and all we haue.
And payes it backe, but w*i*th old age & dust,
who in the darke & silent graue.
When we haue weaned all our ways,
shuts vp the story of our dayes.
And soe forth youth & age & dust
The L*or*d shall rayse mee vp I trust.

186

fol. 149^{r}

M*iste*^{r} Sto*n*e: An Epitaph on him selfe:

Ierusalems curse shall neuer light on mee

for heare a stone vppon a stone you see.

187

fol. 155^{v}

On M*iste*^{r} Rice of Ch*rist* Ch*urch* Manciple.

Who can dout (Rice) to wh*i*^{c}h a*e*ternall place

Thy soule is fled *tha*^{t} did but know thy face

Whose body was soe light *tha*^{t} might haue gonne

To Heauen w*i*^{t}hout a resurrection

Indeed thou werst all tipe thy limes were signes

Thy Arceryes but mathematicke lines.

As if 2 soules had made the compound good

W*hi*^{c}h both should liue by faith, & none by blood.

188

fol. 156^{v}

<u>On the Earle of Dorsetts death.</u>

Let none prophaine ignoble foote treade heare

This hollowed peice of Earth Dorsett lyes theare

A finalle poore relique of a noble spiritt

free as the Ayre and ample as his meritt

Whose lest perfection was large & greate

Enough to make a Com*m*on man compleate

A soule refind noe proud forgetting Lord

But mindfull of meane names & of words
Who loud men for his honor not for endes
And had the noblest way of getting frinds
By seauing first & yet who knew the Court
But vnderstood yet better by report
Then practise Hee nothing tooke frome thence
But the Kings fauour for his recompence
Who for religion or his Cuntryes good
neither his honour valu'd nor his blood
Rich in the worlds opinion and mens prayses
And full in all wee could desire but dayes
Hee that is warn'd of this and shall forbeare
To vent a sight [sic.] for him or spend a teare
May hee l<…>iue longe scorn'd and vnpittied fall
and want a mourner at his funerall.

189

fol. 157^{r}

On D*octo*^{r} Lanctons death.

Because of fleshly mould wee bee
Subiect to mortality
Let noe man wounder at his death
More flesh he had & then lesse breath
But if you question how he died
Twas not the fall swelting pride
Twas noe ambition to ascend
heauen in humility: his end
Assure vs that his god did make
This peere for our examples sake
Had you but seene him in his way

To church his last blest Sabboth day
His struggling soule did make such hast
As if each breath would bee his last
Each bricke hee trode in sinkying stroue
To make his graue & showed his loue
O how his sweating body wept
knowing how sonne it should be swept
In moule but while hee steales to pray
His weighty members longe to stay.
Each word did bring a breathlesse teare
As if heed leaue his spirit there;
Hee home lookes backe at twere to see
The place where he should buried bee
Bowing as if he did desire
All the same time longe to expire
W*i*th being donne he longe shall dwell
W*i*th in the place hee lou'd so well
where night and morning hundreds come
A pilgrimage vnto his tombe.

190

fol. 157v

An epitaph vpon a fart

Reader I was borne and cryed
Cracket so, smelt so, & so dyed.
Like Iulius Ca*e*sar was my death
for hee in Senate lost his breath
And not vnlike in tombe doth lye
The noble Romulus and I
And much a like to Flora faire

I leafte the Common Wealth mine heire.

191

fol. 157^{v}

On the countesse of Pembrocke.

Vnderneath this stable hearse
Lyes the subiect of this verse
Sydneys sister Pembrocks mother
Death eare thou kill such another
faire and good wise as shee
Time will throw a dart at thee
Marble piles let noe man rise
nor any structures in her praise
Least some Ladyes good as shee
Reading it like Niobe
Weepe to marble and become
Both the mourner and the tomb

192

fol. 14^{v}

[On Queen Elizabeth I]

verses, sett vpon *th*^{e} description of her Tomb./.

If royall vertues ever crown'd a crowne
If ever myldnes shin'd in Maiesty
If ever honour, honor'd true renowne
If ever Courage dwelt w*i*^{t}h Clemency
If ever Princesse put all princes downe
for Temperance, prowesse, prudence, Equity
This, this was she that in despight of death
Liues still admir'd, ador'd Elizabeth:
Spaines Rodd, Romes ruine, Netherlands Releife,
Heavens Jem, Earths ioy, worlds woonder, Natures cheife./.

193

fol. 15^{r}

An Epitaph made vpon *th*^{e} Lady Iane

mother to *th*^{e} said King whose woombe (as some afirme) was Cutt at his birth, to *th*^{e} saving of his, but losse of her life././././.

Here lies the phœnix Lady Iane,
whose death a phœnix Bare,
(o greife) two phœnix at one time
together never were./.

194

fol. 16^{v}

Verses made vpon her Remooue being dead./.

The Queen's remou'de in solemne sort
yet this was strange & seldome seene
the Queene vsed to remooue the Court
but now the Court remou'de the Queene.

195

fol. 16^{v}

vpon the bringing of her Corpse by water,
from Richmount to Whitehall./.

The Queene was brought by water to Whitehall
at eu*er*y stroke the Ores teares lett fall
more clung about the Barge, fish vnder water
wept out their eyes of pearle & swom blynde after
I thinke *th*^{e} Bargemen might w*i*th easyer thyghes
haue row'd her thither in her peoples eyes,
for howso'ere, thus muche my thoughts haue skand
S'had come by water, had she come by land./

196

fol. 16^{v}

Vpon her lying dead at White-Hall./

The Queene lies now at White-Hall dead
& now at White-Hall living
to make this rough obiection euen,
dead at White-Hall at westminster

but living at White-hall in Heauen./

197

fol. 105[v]

verses in memory of s*i*[r] George freuile k*nigh*[t] made

by his Nephew Tho*mas* freuile, vpon *th*[e] Alphabet of his name ./.

S ince swift foote tyme hath finished thie race
I n glories lapp yet rests thie living name
R elentless fates can not thie life deface
G raue, earth nor Tombe, shall ere obscure thie fame:
E nvye & malice now will cease to blame thee
O ft haue they wrongd, but yet could never shame thee
R eligion alwaies was thie cheifest ayme
G reat was the care that thou of Iustice had
E nvye her selfe can not denie the same
ff avor thou didst the good & hate the bad
R especting alwaies simple men & poore.
E ver adding vnto their wante*s* thie store
V ertue thou lovedst & the same didst nourish
I n honours Court therfore thy name's inroll'd:
L iue still though dead, in death thie life shall flourish,
E ver a mirrour for all to behold.
K nowledge thie actions so did rule & guide
N ot knowne by anie from the truth to Hyde
I mmortall praises, thou deserv'st to haue,
G lorious Trophees vnto thee are due
H onor'd in life, & honor'd in thie graue
T yme all-revealing will thie fame renew./.

Rest then in peace in this same howse of Claie
till thie Redeemer keepe his Sessions daie./

198

fol. 105^{v}

other verses vpon *th*^{e} same subiect by his

Nephew Richard Freuile./.

Dead, & Confyn'd to dust, oh wofull I,
who to the world must rynge a peale of misery
There was alas! but, (worthie!) he is done,
Disaster word! there was a worthie one.
Oh cruell fates! not one that yo^{u} could spare,
to keepe yo*u*^{r} custome? yo^{u} too cruell are.
nor piety nor zeale could yo^{u} respect?
religion, vertue, sure it was neglect,
whome men & muses did alone consent
to praise as man as natures wonderment,
him must we loose! our Loue hath most desir'd
nature & art in him alone conspir'd;
Nature & art to yo^{u} no more Ile trust
mine to p*re*serue; for yo^{u} are too vniust
Cease, Cease, sad muse, this musick harsh surcease
I heare a voyce, oh happie voyce of peace;
fates are not cruell, no, they are not rough,
carefull enough they are, yea kynd enough,
for they most freindly finish & haue his race
that better p*ar*te might liue in better place,
Then weepe we, Ioy we, both these together
weepe we, ioy we more, we wott not whether,
We ioy cause he from earth to heaven is gone
we weepe cause mongst suche men not suche a one
he liv'd as <Freuile> free, as freuile ere, from blame,
living, or dead, still creditt to the name
Heaven hath his soule, lett it still haue so

earth shall intombe his Corpse our brest *th*[e] woe

yet, let's cry I'o, in our earthlie straine,

hee'le eccho I'o in a heavenly vaine./

finis ./.

199

fol. 105[v]

[This text is rotated 90* to the right and alongside the above poem and in brown, not black ink]

verses engraven on *th*[e] Tombe of *th*[e] said

knight, & the Lady his wife. i63i./.

Ruos thalamus, quos vna fides, sors iunxerat vna:

Nunc tumulus, nunc vna sedes, mors iungit et vna./:

Whome mariage bed, one faith, one fate conioyned first together:

Now this one Tombe, one heaven, one death reioyneth each to either./.

200

fol. 106[r]

Verses in memory of *th*[e] Lady frevile, who died. 6. Octob*er* 1630./.

made by M*iste*[r] Robert Burrell, minister of Gaynford./.

Come neare & see, what all shall be, who here on earth do dwell,

When life is gone, the clay, the stone, the p*ar*tes resemble well

The power of God surpasseth all; his councell, his decree

of high & low, of rich, & poore, regarded ought to be:

This Ladie liv'd, who liv'd like her! yet to the graue she goes,

what is she than? woman, or man? that can on life repose?

The course of nature constant is, what doth begyn must end,

but where, or when he onely knowes, on whome all doth depend.

She did in life remember death, & eke prepared then,

w*hi*[ch] not to do while health doth last, what madnes is in men.

Great was her wealth, great was her witt, her piety passed both,
to let the truth be knowne I wish to flatter greatnes loath.
An other Dorcas she hath ben, Tabitha rais'd againe,
as we haue heard, so haue we seene, & God reward *th*^{e} same.
Her years were some, not manie tho, twice told I could haue wished,
for in her life, not in her death, the Country thought it blessed
Come poore, & now deplore yo*u*^{r} losse; for she is from yo^{u} taken,
whome yo^{u}, neither in life nor death vnkindly hath forsaken:
The richer sort may better beare; but who so beares it best
will in succeeding ages saie, Lo now shees greatly mist.
Her father was by Prince p*re*ferd, a man of trust & might
her husband was like wise advanc'd, to th'order of a knight,
I could go on: but what neede*s* that? whats worde*s*? when deede*s* appeare
thats but to sett a Candle vp, when Sunne doth shine most cleare,
If momus here obiect & saie, (oh freind) what fruite brought shee?
the fruites of vertue, & good life: & what compare may be:
In mans remembrance was this howse of wallworth lately rais'd
yet hath the fames of Ladies two, both farr & wide ben blaz'd.
The mother did good works begyn; the daughter she succeeded,
two patternes to posterity; let all behold & heed it.
Good works I call good works indeed; let showes & shadowes goe;
Obedience vnto God & man are they, or els I do not know:
If some saie Hospitality, the com*m*on good & poore,
then let him name, one like in these, I will not vrge it more:
Well, she is done, oh happie she, that so did liue & die
her soule I hope, is now aboue, even in the heavens so high,
Where let it rest, w*i*th God ere blest, where saints reioyce & sing,
all to w*hi*ch place the starr of grace, by due proceedings bring./.

./ <u>finis</u> ./.

201

fol. 3^{v}

On Munday of Oxford:

God blesse the Sabboth, fye on worldly pelfe:
the weeke begins on Tuesday, Munday has hanged himselfe.

202

fol. 17^{r}

An Epitaph on M*ist*^{r}*es*^{s} Silence Maynwaring:

Could not the virtue of thy budding yeares
preserue thy life, nor could those prayers nor teares
were spent for thee, prevent thy timeless death,
nor yet prevaile with heauen for thy breath?
Oh no, God calld, sent death, her end decreed,
Imparadiced her sole, her body freed,
from mundaine fraileties, humane vanities;
happy is she that to the world so dyes;
Then cease to mourne, she reapes a double gaine,
Angells for friends, A paradise for paine.

203

fol. 17^{r}

On one that dyed of the wind collick:

Here Lyes Iohn dumbelow, who dyed because he was so.
If his Tayle could haue spoke, his hart had not broke.

204

fol. 19^{v}

An Epitaph vpon the Lady-Mary Villers:

The lady Mary Villers lyes
under this stone, with weeping eyes
the parents which first gaue her birth,
and their sad friends laid her in earth;
If any of them Reader were
knowne unto thee shed a teare;
or if thy selfe possesse a gemme
as deare to thee as this to them,
though a stranger to this place
bewayle in theirs thine owne hard case;
for thou perhaps at thy returne
mayst finde thy darling in an urne.

205

fol. 19^{v}

Another:

The purest soule that ere was sent
Into a clayie tenement,
Informed this dust, but the weake mould
could the great guest noe longer hold;
the substance was too pure, the frame
so glorious, that thether came
tenn thousand Cupids, bringing along
a grace on each winge, that did throng
for place there, till they all opprest
the seate in which they thought to rest.

so the faire modell broke for want
of room to lodge th'Inhabitant.

206

fol. 19^{v}

Another:

This little vault, this narrow roome
of loue, and beauty is the tombe;
the dawning beame that ganne to cleare
our clouded skye, lyes darkned heere,
for euer sett to us by death
sent to enflame the world beneath;

fol. 20^{r}

Twas but a Budd, yet doth containe
more sweetnes then shall spring againe;
A budding starre that might haue growne
into a sunne when it had blowne;
this hopefull beauty did create
new life in Loues declining state;
But now his empire ends, and wee
from fire and wounding darts are free;
his brand, his bow let noe man feare,
the flames, the Arrowes all lay here.

T: *homas* Carew

207

fol. 20^{r}

An epitaph on A Lady:

The harmony of colours, features grace,
resulting ayres (the magick of a face)

of musicall sweet tunes, all which combined
to crowns one soveraigne beauty, lyes confined
To this darke vault, she was a Cabinett
where all the choicest stones of price were sett.
whose natiue colours, and pure lustre lent
her eye, cheeke, lipp a dazling ornament,
whose rare and hidden vertues did expresses
her inward vertues, and minds fairer dresse;
The constant diamond, the wise Chrisolite,
the deuout saphyre, Emrauld apt to write
records of memorie, chearefull Agatt, graue
and serious onix, Topas, that doth saue
the braines calme temper, white Amathist;
This pretious quarrye, or what else the List
of Aarons ephod planted, had, shee wore,
one only pearle was wanting to her store,
which in her saviours booke she founde exprest
to purchase that she sold death all the rest.
T:*homas* Carew

208

fol. 20^{r}

On A Childs death:

A child and dead, alas how could it come?
Surely her thread of life was but a Thrumme.

209

fol. 20^{v}

An Epitaph on the Lady Mary Wentworth:

Loe heere the pretious dust is layd

whose purely temperd clay was made
so fine, that it the guest betrayd:

Else the soule grew so fast <wh> within
it broke the outward shell of sinne
and so was hatched A Cherubin:

In hei<h>ght it soared to God aboue,
in depth it did to knowledge moue,
and spread in breadth to general loue:

Before a pious duty shined
to parents, Curtesie behind,
on either side an equall minde:

Good to the poore, to kindred deere,
to servants kinde to friendship cleare,
to nothing but her selfe seuere:

So though a virgin yet a Bride
to euery grace she Iustified
A Chaste polygamie and dyed:

Learne from hence, Reader, what small trust
wee owe this world, where virtue must
frayle as our flesh Crumble to dust.
T:*homas* Carew

210

fol. 20^{v}

On the duke of Buckingham:

When in the brazen leaues of fame
the Life, the death of Buckingham
Shallbe recorded, if truths hand
Incize the story of our land,
posterity shall see a faire
structure, by the studious care
of two Kings raised, that did noe lesse
their wisedome then their power expresse;
fol. 21^{r}
By blinded zeale, whose doubtfull light
made murders scarlett roabe seeme white.
whose vaine deluding phantoms charmed
A Cloudy sullen soule, and armed
a desperate hand thirsty of bloud,
Torne from the faire earth where it stood;
So the maiestick fabric fell
his actions let our Annalls tell,
wee write noe Chronicle; this pyle
weares only sorrowes face and style,
which euen the envy which did wayte
upon his flourishing estate
turned to soft pittie of his death,
now payes his Hearse; but that cheape breath
shall not blow here, not th'unpure brine
puddle those streames that bathe this shrine;
These are the pious obsequies
dropt from his Chaste wiues pregnant eyes

In frequent shewers, and were alone
by her congealing sighes made stone;
on which the Carver did bestow
these forms, and characters of woe,
so hee the fashion only lent
whilst she wept all the monument.
T:*homas* Carew

211

fol. 21^{r}

An Epitaph on the duke of Buckingham

Reader when those dumbe stones haue told
in borrowed speech what guest they hold
thou shalt confesse, the vaine pursuit
of humane glory yeelds noe fruite
but an untimely graue, if fate
could constant happiness create
her ministers fortune and worth
had here that miracle brought forth;
fol. 21^{v}
They fixt this Childe of honour where
noe roome was left for hope, or feare
of more or lesse, so high so great
his growth was, yet so safe his seate;
safe in his Loyall heart and ends,
safe in the Circle of his friends,
safe in his natiue valiant spirit
by favour safe, and safe by meritt;
safe by the stampe of nature which
did strength with shape and grace enrich;

safe in the cheerefull courtesies
of flowing gesture, speech and eyes,
safe in his bounties which were more
proportion'd to his minde then store;
yea though for virtue he becomes
involved himselfe in borrowed summes
safe in his cares, he leaues betray'd
noe friend engaged, noe debt unpay'd;
But though the starres conspire to shower
upon one head the united power
of all their graces, if their dyre
Aspects must other breasts inspire
with vicious thoughts, A murderers knife
may cutt, as here, their darlings life;
who can be happy then if nature must
to make one happy, man make all men Iust.
T:*homas* Carew

212

fol. 30^{r}

On a Iuggler:

Death came to see thy tricks, and cutt in twayne
thy thread, why didst not make it whole againe?

213

fol. 30^{v}

On the death of M*iste*^{r} Harrison, M*iste*^{r} Sleepe And D*octo*^{r} Brookes all of Trinity Colledge In Cambridge:

The other Gods Ioue being like to dye
calld Harrison his place for to supply,
Alas good old man, he laboured still
with's staffe, but could not get toth' top oth' hill;
death seeing this quickly did send, some say
Braue Tony Sleepe to helpe him on his way,
but he a stranger in the pathes of blisse
Alas mistook his way, and went amisse;
the Gods to guide him learned Brookes would haue
(who did not long before helpe him to graue;
he went on swifter than a nimble thought,
and him in's blessed armes to heauen brought;
Sleepe followed close: but they got in before
and left him knocking at the blessed doore;
faine in he would but he commanded was
to stay till Hackluit brought him his passe:
but shortly after Bacchus went in thether
quoth Sleepe to Bacchus weell goe in together,
soe in they went, this well beleeue you may
for D*octo*^{r} Andrewes came from thence to day.

214

fol. 32[r]

On the death of Queene Anne:

Thee to invite the great God sent a starre,
whose friends, and neerest kinne good princes are;
for though they runne the race of man and dye,
death seems but to refine their maiesty;
so did our Queene from hence her Court remoue,
and leave the Earth to be enthroned aboue:
Then she is changed not dead, noe good prince dyes,
But only like the sunn doth sett to rise.

215

fol. 32[v]

On the death of D*octo*[r] Astly of all soules Colledge

All you soft soules whose oft oreflowing eyes
threaten a deluge without helpe of skyes,
whose throbbing hearts swift pulse resembles well
the dolefull Tolling of our Astlyes Bell,
draw neere and lend your eyes: but you whose heart
sorrow is not acquainted with depart;
here only come they who haue this intent
to make an Island of his monument;
me thinks each elme or knotty oake would be,
did nature giue it leaue, A Cypresse tree;
and that there might noe want of mourners bee
these sable lines weare their black Liuery;
my penne drops teares, and that all things may meete
this paper may be calld a winding sheete;

the teares we shed would be congealed to stones
of marble to entombe his honourd bones;
but why all this? now he is fixt on high
and one starre more puzzles Astronomie;
you say that he was charitable, and
dispenced his fauours with a liberall hand;
recompence then with loue his Charity,
and mourne noe more for his felicity
E: H

216

fol. 42^{v}

Celias Epitaph:

Where sainted sleepers measurd haue
their cold proportions,
stretchd like the mandrake on her graue
by deaths distortions
Lye Celias corpes; An ornament
unto her stately Tombe,
Wherein her snowy Limbes are pent
white as its marble roome;
And now the world expects from me
that mournefull I shoul proue,
for her a weeping Niobe;
who was my care and loue;
But I can see noe cause alas
for her to weepe soe fast,
dead, shee's the same to me she was
aliue. so cold, soe chaste;
Ile quit her coynesse, and goe dye

thus I'le revenged be,
For when Ime dead, by her Ile lye
as cold, and chaste as she.

217

fol. 50^{v}

On King Richard the third supposed to be buried under the bridge at Leycester:

What meanes this watry Canopy 'bout this bed,
these streaming vapours ore thy sinfull head?
Are they thy teares, alas in vaine th'are spilt
tis now too late, to wash away thy guilt;
thou still art bloudy Richard, and tis much
the water should not from thy very touch
turne quite Egiptian, and the scaly frye
feare to be killd, and so thy Carkase flye;
Bathe, bathe thy fill, and take thy pleasure now
in this cold bed, yet guiltie Richard know
Iudgement must come, and water then would be
A heauen to thee, middst hellish misery.

218

fol. 56^{r}

Epitaph on doctor Brooke:

A Brooke whose streame so great so good,
was loued, was honour'd as a floud,
whose bankes the muses dwelt upon
more then their owne Helicon,
here at length hath gladly found
a quiet passage under ground;

meane while his loued bankes now dry
the muses with their teares supply.

219

fol. 56[r]

On A man and his wife who dyed together, and were so buried:

To these whom death againe did wedd
this graue's their second marriage bed;
for though the hand of fate could force
twixt soule and body a diuorce
It could not sunder man and wife
because they liued but one life:
fol. 56[v]
peace, good Reader doe not weepe,
peace the Louers are asleepe:
They sweet Turtles folded lye
in the last knott that loue could tye;
Let them sleepe, let them sleepe on
till this stormie night bee gone,
and th'eternall morning dawne,
then the Curtaines will be drawne,
and they waken with that light
whose day shall neuer sleepe in night.

220

fol. 60[r]

floras epitaph:

Draw not too neere
unlesse you shed a teare,

on the stone where I groane,
and will weepe
until eternall sleepe
shall charme my wearied eyes;
flora lyes here
embalmd with many a teare,
which the swaynes, from the plaines
here haue paid
and many a Vestall maide
has mournd her obsequies:
Their snowy breasts they teare,
fol. 60^{v}
And rend their golden haire
Casting cryes
to Celestiall deities,
To returne
her beauty from the urne,
here to raigne
unparralelld on earth againe;
Then straight a sound
from the ground
piercing the ayre,
Cryes she is dead,
her soule is fled,
into a place more rare:

you spirits that doe keepe
the dust of those that sleepe
under ground, here the sound
of a swayne
that foldes his armes all in vaine.

to the ashes he adores;
for pitty doe not fright
him wandring in the night,
when he laves virgins graues,
from his eyes,
Contributing sad laments
unto their memories;
And when my name is read
'mong number of the dead,
some one may, in Charity repay,
my sad soule
the tribute that I gaue;
and sing some Requiem ore my graue;
Then weepe noe more, weepe no more,
soule rest free from care,
since shee is dead, her soule is fled
into a place more rare.

221

fol. 62[r]

Vpon a young Gentlewomans death:

Nature in this small volume was about
to perfect what in woman was left out,
yet carefull least the piece so well begunne
should want perservatiues when she had done,
ere she could finish what she undertooke
threw dust upon it, and shut up the booke.

222

fol. 63^{r}

On a Tailour that dyed of a plurisie:

Here Lyes one buried, in this ditch,
who as he liued, so dyed by the stitch.

223

fol. 63^{v}

To the Ghost of Robert Wisedome:

Thou once a body, now but Aire,
Arch-botcher of a psalme or prayer,
from Carfax come,
and patch me up a zealous Lay
with an old euer and for aye,
or all and some:
or such a spirit lend mee,
that may a Hymne downe send me
to purge my braine,
So Robert looke behind thee,
least pope and Turke doe find thee;
and goe to bed againe.
R*ichard* C*orbett*

224

fol. 63^{v}

On M*iste*^{r} Rice, Manciple of Christ Church:

Who can doubt, Rice, to which Eternall place
thy soule is fledd, that did but know thy face?

whose body was so light, it might haue gone
to heauen without a resurrection.
Indeed thou wert all Type thy Limbes were signes;
Thy Arteries but mathematick lines;
as if two soules had made thy compound good,
that both should liue by faith, and none by bloud.
R*ichard* Corbet

225

fol. 64^{r}

On two Children dying of one disease, and buried in one graue:

Brought forth in sorrow, and bredd up in care,
two tender Children here entombed are,
one place, one sire, one wombe their being gaue,
they had one mortall sicknesse, and one graue;
and though they cannot number many yeares,
in their accounts, yet with their parents teares
this comfort mingles, though their dayes were few,
they scarcely sinne, but neuer sorrow knew;
fol. 64^{v}
so that they well might boast they carried hence
what riper ages loose, their Innocence;
you pretty losses, that reviue the fate
which in your mother death did Antidate;
oh let my high swolne griefe distill on you
the saddest drops of a parentall dew;
you aske noe other dowre then what my eyes
Lay out on your untimely exequies;
when once I haue discharged that mournefull skore
heauen hath decreed you nere shall cost me more,

since you release and quit my borrowd trust
by taking this inheritance of dust
H*enry* King

226

fol. 72^{r}

An Epitaph on M*ist*^{r}*e*^{s}*s* Mary Prideaux:

Happy graue thou dost enshrine
that which makes thee a rich mine;
yet remember tis but loane,
and we looke for backe our owne:
the very same, marke mee, the same,
thou shalt not cheate us with a lame,
deformed Carkase, this was faire,
fresh as morning, soft as ayre;
purer then other flesh as farre
as other soules their bodies are:
And that thou maist the better see
to finde her out, two starrs there be,
Ecclipsed now, uncloud but those,
and they will point thee to the Rose
that dyed each cheeke, now pale and wann,
but will be when she wakes againe
fresher then ever; and howere
her long sleepe may alter her,
Her soule will know her body straight
twas made so fit for't. noe deceite
can sute another to it, none
cloathe it so neately as its owne.
G:*eorge* Morley:

227

fol. 77^{v}

An Epitaph: or the Bodyes Elegie: on the death of I; B:

Looke through this Temple on each hand,
and see if all her Columnes stand,
if that noe ruines there thou finde,
tis griefe, or enuy strikes thee blinde;
for call but home thine eyes, and pace
unto this sad sepulchrall place,
and see how in this graue that's shrunke
a pillar of the Church lyes sunke;
fol. 78^{r}
Then sacrifice, and offer here
the Briny tribute of a teare;
and if th'exhausted eyes grow dry,
with fatall groanes expire and dye;
for who, but earth, that would not haue
his palace changed for such a graue;
Come see how this rich dust doth shine,
blest ashes make the graue a shrine;
If thou wouldst know his life and name
that soe this happy dust doth fame,
revolue those sacred Annalls, where
for this last age blest saints appeare,
recorded to the world, and see
in those books of Eternitie
their liuing actions (books that passe
in date the short=liued length of brasse)
And when thine eyes from the first page
unto the last haue runne, presage,

the name ‘mongst those, and thou’lt divine
the name could nothing be but Bryne;
for tell me later ages, tell
when did soe faire a vessel sayle
to her eternall port of rest,
soe rigged, soe laden, and so prest
with crowdes of vertues, and of grace
till that her sides did tracke, her maste
shiver an reele? oh tell me when
more ventures haue beene made by men?
more soules imbarked with any one,
In wishes and desires being gone,
then with this soule, when it did flye
from earth to faire eternitie;
Th’ast read the name, the life that gaue
a soule to that I thou dost craue
to reade, then come, avert thine eyes
from these poore paper rags, and rise
fol. 78^{v}
Ile bringe thee to a volume, where
his truest story will appeare;
men are the best writt books to show
his life; if thou his life wouldst know
reade but A moses, and there stay
and pause, then reade a Iosua.
A Dauid fully throughly reade, and then
A Iob, and reade them ore againe,
Goodnes is of a straine soe high
tis not a glaunce can pierce, an eye.
settled and fixed must doe’t, then scanne
and view these books ore man by man;

And when these strange ingredients
of fiery zeale, and patience,
of meekenesse, and of courage, those
diviner discords, Ioyne and close
to make one soule of harmony,
when thou seest this strange unity,
and dost behold in euery page
wonder enough to fill an age,
there fixe thine eyes, and his life see
written in their blest historie;
there reade his life, his death, his praise
he was a Transcript written after these,
the Transcript and the Text agree,
that faire and right, and so was hee;
Come not unto his gates to know
if this report liue there or no,
I am too neere to tell thee, runne
unto the East, or where the Sunne
declines within this Ile, and there
if thou perchance this name dost heare
those I dare answer will be bolde
to Eccho what these Lines haue told,
nor can the best, that best can loue,
or speake him, but false Eccho's proue;
fol. 79^{r}
for being opprest with too much worth
unable for to speake him forth,
they can, true Eccho's, but resound
some faint and broken ends, and sound
imperfect Colons, some halfe points,
some peece=snatched period, that dis=loynts

the members of that goodnesse, hee
spoke plaine, and in so full degree;
not aske all tongues enough to proue
his Heraulds whom all hearts did loue;
for ashe those tainted soules that are
a blacke, as his <whs> white and faire,
And their polluted lungs will breathe
him good, both in his life and death;
nor needs he their profaner breaths,
the world to speake, or Epitaphs;
noe well writ sighe, noe paper=groane,
now hyred verse, or periured stone,
whose dead, and fainting language can
scarce speake his frailer part of man;
but for his purer soule, and soule
of that, his goodnesse, those controule
all Elegy, and did prepare
diviner Heraulds, then these bare,
and Carkase=lines, and well may scorne
the Lustre of a paper=urne:
His life, his death, himself, all these he hath,
the richest Tombe, the truest Epitaph.

228

fol. 82^{r}

On the young prince Charles:

Reader repent, tis not enough to weepe,
the Kingdomes sinnes haue laid this prince asleepe;
Abortiue in his birth to other men,
not to himselfe, for he was borne agen.

brought forth, baptized, and dead in halfe an hower;
and sure he had liued lesse, had he liued more;
Life gaue him Title to an earthly Crowne,
but death possession of a heauenly Throne.

229

fol. 82[r]

On Wymark a rich usurer:

Stampe on him Reader underneath this Clodd
rich Wymark lyes, that made his gould his God;
who knew noe other Angell good or badd,
or Crowne of glory, but the Crownes he had;
all his religion lay in bonds, subscribed
by two good squires, a Cittizen beside,
sealed and deliuered to him as his deed,
this was the scripture to his use hee read;
peeces his beades, if prayers he said any,
noe pater noster, but he had his penny;
fasting he used, his Cloathes and dirt couerse,
yet not to saue his soule, but saue his purse;
paules was his walke, where he like paul sought round
for the best men, that he might bring them bound;
And in this faith, and hellish purity,
he long time liued upon security;
but thinke what safety now hee's like to finde,
that hence is gone and left his God behind;
here the old fox is earthd, and may he lye
the Curse and scorne of all that passes by.

230

fol. 84[r]

On the untimely birth and death of the Prince.

At the sound of peace with france,
(should peace annoy)
this litle soule beganne to dance:
and leape for Ioy:

And being streightned there about
it flung and hurld,
till often tumbling it slept out
into the world;

Then finding it not like the wombe
where first it liued,
it lost its Ioy in so wide roome
and straight way grieued:

The wombe was virtuous the world vilde,
so that it Cryed
to see it selfe so much beguiled,
and trying dyed.
I: B:

231

fol. 87[r]

On Hobson:

Old Hobson's dead and gone
who liued drawing on,

fourescore yeares and one.

Hugh: Holland:

232

fol. 87^{v}

On the Kinge of Sweden:

What now! allready are those wagers layd
which not these thousand yeares are to be payd;
Then (if the world doe last soe long) then striue
whether the great Gustavus bee alive;
now to contend is an abortiue strife,
tis to make Butters booke his booke of life;
who can say Gideon yet, or Iosua's dead?
Whilst their eternall deeds of armes are read;
nor shall it be a Bett till the last day
whether this kinge be dead, and broke his way;
'twas said of Iohn that he should neuer due,
and th'enuious mates were Checkt for reasoning why;
if this disciple also be as hee,
and tarry till Christ come, what's that to thee?
R*ichard* Corbett

233

fol. 91^{v}

An Epitaph

Reade, twas a Berkley; birth and bloud are knowne
from Ancestours, the rest were all her owne;
Rich, faire, and young; rare lines of grace to fall

upon one center; that unites them all;
all goods of body, fortune, and behinde
the chiefe Endowments of a heauenly minde;
These glorious stiles she made should be his glory
from whom they came; and all her life a story
her Trewant sexe might reade, and imitate,
whom she outstript in goodness, as in fate;
each course she rann through was a patterne sett
some coppyed virtue from her to begett;
Childe, mother, friend, and wife, these states she past
proued her obedient, tender sweet, and Chaste;
Her Comfort was as was her soule, diuine;
what greater Titles wooed her might repine,
she would devote herselfe to bee his bride
whose talling wean'd her from all pompe and pride;
But she first wean'd herselfe then those that state,
a married Moniall orderd by her mate;
shee thought that thus much neerer heauen shee got
By singling out a Guide from Leuies Lott;
There she a better Trinity Enioyes
Leaues him for's paines a Triade of her boyes;
goe now fond dames, and say here lyes interrd,
one that her soule fore all the world preferrd.

234

fol. 91^{v}

On the death of M*iste*^{r} Lancaster:

To dye is natures debt, and when
death works asleep feeble old men
wee are not greeued; for why, they haue

an undisturbed peace in the graue;
or if that younger men worne out
with feuers, aches, agues, Gout,
so tamed with sicknesse, and so spent
that euen to liue were punishment;
fol. 92[r]
To shed a teare at their decease
were to repine, and grudge their peace;
But when untimely death besetts
man in his Lustiest yeeres, nor letts,
him past his youth enioy his age,
and so become ripe, ere the rage
of sicknes tortures him, when man
Liues not his litle time, his spann;
twere ingratitude not to moane,
not to bestow a signe, or groane;
nay and some spight too, on those whose skill,
whose surgery it is to kill;
who only understand the state
of a Cutt finger, or a pate
broken at wasters; who where they come
make the Itch mortall unto some;
who when the skinne is only rac't
say the veine's cutt, or bone displac't;
when more bloud by the Cure is spilt
I hardly Iudge where lyes the guilt,
who hath performd the deadlier part
the Captaines rapier, or their Art.
P:*eter* Bradshawe

235

fol. 96^{v}

On the untimely death of I: K: first borne of H: K:

Blessed spirit, thy Infant breath
fitter for the Quire of saints,
then for mortals here beneath,
marbles Ioyes, but mine Complaints;
plaints that spring from that great losse
of thy litle selfe, sadd Crosse:
yet doe I still repaire thee by desire

fol. 97^{r}

Which warmes my benummd sence like false fire;
but with such delusiue shapes
still my pensiue thoughts are eased
as birds baiting at mock-grapes,
are with empty errour pleased;
yet I erre not, for decay
hath but seized thy house of Clay;
for loe the liuely Image of each part
makes deepe impression on my waxy heart:
Thus learne I to possesse this thing I want,
hauing great store of thee, and yet great scant;
Oh let me thus recall thee, nere repine,
since what is thy fate, now, must once be mine.

236

fol. 76^{r}

Not twice ten yeares of age
a wery breath
haue I exchainged
for a happie death
my corse soe short
the longer is my rest
god takes them soonnest
whom he loues best
ffor he thats borne to day
and dyes tomorrow
looseth some dayes of rest
but more of sorrow

237

fol. 76^{r}

Another

If birth if vertue
if fairer feature dect
with grace of minde
if pietie breed respect
Her tombe then view [sic.]
and grace kinde passenger,
With whom soe many graces
buryed were
Conquered patience,
fol. 76^{v}
yet she ouer came

nor was her youth death

triumph but his shame

238

fol. 76^{v}

Moria Sacrum

What needs an Epitaph

to sound oure prayes

our welth our gratness forth

or lenth of Dayes

when brifly on this marble

wee may read

the glory of the liueing

and the deade

A moddest chast

religious loueing wife

lies here at rest

patience death and life

Euen all the yeares

w*i*th among many woes

deuided, sweetly floud

& mett in her.

And thought death did his worst

thinkeing in rage

fol. 77^{r}

to leaue noe patterne

for succeeding age

yet liue her vertues

& this memory

te[lls] what she was

& what her sext should be

239

fol. 77^{r}

Another

Vnder this tombe
the sacred ashes hould
the drossie past
as pure as selestiall gold
the body of a man
a man of men
whose worth to writ
would lose my pen

Then doe thy worst death
glut thy selfe with dust
the pretious soule
is mounted to the iust
yet read and as thou readest
fol. 77^{v}
both read and weepe
that men soe good soe graue
soe wise doe sleepe
writ this ouer head
Credo q*uo*d redemtor viuit
et in nouisimo die
de terra surrectus som
in an other place
Et in carna mea videbo
meu*m* saluatoru*m* meu*m*

Reposita hec spes mea

in sum meo

240 **241**

fol. 77[v]

Remember

As you are now	Such as you are
soe was shee	such were wee
As shee is now	Such as we are
soe you must be	Such shall ye be

242

fol. 78[r]

Ladyes when you

your purest bewty see

thinke them but tennants

to mortalyty

Theres noe content on Earth

ioyes soonne are fleed

health^full^ to day we liue

tomorrow dead

I was as you are now

both yong faire and cleare

And now intoombed

as you see me heare

243

fol. 78[r]

The memory of the iust is blessed

but the name of the wicked shall rott

What doth this scull

what doth this houre glass shew

the cor[.]e the palmes that

on the scull doth grow

It meaneth this that deaths

the end of strife

Is the begining, of eternall life

fol. 78[v]

Death is the doore

to Imortality

Shes borne to god She or hee

that to the world doth dye

the burneing tapor to his end

doth wast

whilst life and death

to meet each other hast

then happie shee

that did her life applye

heare and aboue to liue eternally

244

fol. 78[v]

off his great worth to knowe

whoe seeketh more

must mount to heauen

where he is gone before

245

fol. 78^{v}

I dye to liue

I liue to dye

and hope to liue

Eternally

246

fol. 79^{r}

An Epitaph vpon an old man

Ile say but this

that all that Knew him well

for life for death

will say he did excell

his flesh interred here

once contaynd a spirit

whoe bye gods mercy

& his sauiours merrit

departed in that constant

hope of trust

to reigne eternally

amongst the Iust

To liue and die well

was his whole endeauoure

& in asureance died

to liue for euer

247

fol. 79^{r}

Other

Stay gaze reade & admire

& pass not slightly ore

fol. 79^{v}

the Casket of this corps

ymbalmed in this flooure lett him in peace

let this industa[o]nes haue rest here in peace

a pattern of patternes bee ^tell the god of^ peace

to blazon forth his worth returne ^and giue him grace^

to all posteryty

Let his oft foote steps And take him

Vnto this sacred place from his vrne

be pious thus to guide

thee to like holy place

248

fol. 80^{r}

Earth what art thou a poynt, a senseles ^center^

frends what are yee an agie trustles tryall

life what art thou a daylie doubtfull venter

death what art thou a better lifes especiall

fflesh what art thou a loose vntemp*er*ed morter

& sickeness what art thou heauens churlish porter

Sweet Iesus by the porter then admitt me

I hould this world & worlds decay in loathing

If ought be on my backe that doth not fitt ^me^

strip me of all & giue one bridal clothing

soe shall I be receiued by my liuiry ^deliuery^

& prisoners soule shall ioye in go^i^ale deliuery

veni domine veni cito

249

fol. 80[r]

Twice twelues years not ^fully^ tould,

a wery breth haue I exchanged

for a happie death

my Corse was short the longer is my ^rest^

god takes them soneest whom he loueth ^best^

for he thats borne to day and dyes tomorrow

loseth some dayes of rest but <m[..]e> ^months:^

of sorrow

fol. 80[v]

Why feare we death that cures

all sicknesses

author of rest & end of all distreses

other misfortunes often comes to

greeue us

deth strickes but once & that shot doth releeue vs

He that thus thought of deth in liues vncertenty

hath doubtles now a life that brings

eternyty

liue for to <dy> lern that dy thou must

And affter com to iudgment iust.

Amen

250

fol. 82^{v}

Learnd thou to liue that dye thou

must and after Com to iudge

ment Iust ff Iames shreu[e]

251

fol. 82^{v}

Time hasteth on time will bee gon

ffor time stayes no mans leasuer

Time will away tim will not stay

ffor time waights no mans pleasuer

252

fol. 82^{v}

Lerne thou to liue that dye thou

must and after Come to Iudgement Just

Thomas Bassett

Time hasteth on time will be gone

ffor time stais noe mans Leashour

time waye time will not stay the

To study much of Idel talk

to medel much with ^

253

fol. 2^{r}

Vpon Deathe

Deathe is *th*^{e} fisher-man, *th*^{e} woorlde wee see
his fishe ponde is, wee men his fishe<r>s bee.
He sometyme angles – lyke deathe w*i*^{t}h <vp> vs playe
And slyely takes vs one by one awaye.
Diseases are *th*^{e} murtheringe hookes w*hi*^{c}h hee
Douthe take vs w*i*^{t}h, *th*^{e} hooke mortallitie
And other tymes he bringes his nett, & then
At once sweepes vp *tha*^{t} cyttys full of men
Drawenge vp thowsands at a drawghte & saues
Only some fewe to make the other graves.

254

fol. 43^{r}

The Epitaphe of Iohn Zisca, the
Valiant captayne of the Bohemians

I Iohn Zisca not inferior to any Emperour or captayne in warlyke pollicie, a severe punisher of the pride and avaryce of *th*^{e} Clergie, and a defender of my contrye, do lie here. That w*hi*^{c}*h* Appius Claudius, by gevinge good cowncell, and M. ffurius Camillus, by valiantnes dyd for the Romanes: the same I beinge blinde, haue done for my Bo= hemians. I never slacked opportunite of Battaile, naither dyd fortune at any tyme fayle me. I beinge blynde dyd forsee all opportunite of well orderinge or doenge my buysynes. Eleuen tymes in in ioyninge battaile, I wente

He died 1417. succedinge Iohn Hus and Ierome of Prage whose cawse he defended

The Thaborites despicinge all other images set vp *th*^{e} picture of Zisca over *th*^{e} gates of *th*^{e} cytye Thabor w*hi*^{c}*h* Zisca fyrste buylded and so named 1417.

victor owte of the feilde, I seemed to haue woorthelye
defended *th*e cawse of the miserable & hungrye, agaynste
the delicate, fatte, and glottonous preistes, and for that
cawse, to haue received helpe at *th*e hande of God. If theire
envie had not lett it w*i*t*h*owte dowte I had deserued
to be nombred amonge *th*e moste famous men. Notw*i*t̄h=
standynge my bones lye heere in this hallowed place,
even in despighte of the Pope.
John Zisca a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and couetuos
preistes but w*i*t̄*h* a godly zeale.

255

fol. 45r

Mickleton in coun*ty* Glou*ce*s*ter*

In the same chancel, against the South wall, is a black square stone, with this inscription, vis.

Looking for the blessed Hope
near this place lieth the body
of Reuerend M*iste*r. Henry Hurst,
minister of this place for 58 years.
He slept in the Lord, Oct. *th*e. 25th 1685.
aged 84. years.
Remember then, which haue the rule ouer you,
who haue spoken vnto you the word of God;
whose faith follow Hebr*ews*. 13.7.

He had Induction giuen him on the 12th of ffebruary, 1628. by one Heines of that time vicar of Ebingston; about which time he married Eleanor daughter of M*iste*r. Francis Wells, his immediate predecessour, who had been preferred to this church in the year, 15

256

fol. 45^{v}

Mickleton in coun*ty* Glou*ce*s*ter*

In the same chancel, at the East end, aboue the steps to the --- Communion-Table, is a large square stone leuel with the floor, vpon which is the Inscription, vis.

Here lieth the Body of Alice Keyse
Daughter of S*i*^{r}. William Spencer of
Yardington in the County of Oxford
Baronet, and Constance his wife the
Daughter of S*i*^{r}. Thomas Lucy of
Charlcoat in the County of Warwick;
which said Alice was the late wife of
Francis Keys of Highcoat Esquir,
& deceased the 29th of May in the
year 1687.
A lady dignified not onely by her
Birth, but besides other other virtues,
for her Love and Fidelity to her
Husband.

Aboue this Inscription are the Arms of Keys, vis. Azure, a cheueron between 3. Kites heads, hazed, or; impaling Spencer, vis. quarterly Argent & Gules, in the 2^{d}. & 3^{d}. a frett or, ouer all on a Bendlett Sable, 3. escallops of the first; the crest a kites head bated or. underneath the Inscription, are the Arms of Spencer alone; the crest a a demy Griffin, with his wings displaied, issuing out of a coronet.

257

fol. 45^{v}

In the same chancel, vpon another square stone near to the former, is this Inscription vis.

Here lieth the Body of M*ist*^{r}*es*^{s}. Jane Keys
Daughter of M*iste*^{r}. Francis Keys, and Alice
his wife, of Hillcoat; who deceased the
30th. day of Iune, Anno Dom. 1684.
Ætatis sua*e*, 2^{o}.

258

fol. 49^{v}

Polycarpus Lyserus de Luthero

vir sine vi ferri, vi verbi, et inermibus armis,

vir sine re, sine spe; contudit orbis opes.

One man withowte all dynte of Swoorde

By poore meanes yett power of Gods woorde,

A man with owte Earthes heighte or hope

Brake & browghte down *th*^{e} Earthes hye toppe

259

fol. 45^{v}

Hee who with owte all dynte of Swoorde

And only by the holy woorde;

With owte all wealthe, or woordly hope,

Roomes prowdest glory layed a slope.

260

fol. 56^{v}

[copied as part of an extensive description of Ozymandias' tomb]

Behowlde I am Osymandias kynge of

kynges: Yf any one woulde knowe what

I haue byn, and where I <was> ^am^ buryed,

Let hym surmownte the leaste of any

of my deedes, and Enterprises.

261

fol. 58^{v}

[coped as part of a history of Cyrus]

O mortal man I am Cyrus sonne of
Cambyses. w*hi*^{c}*h* dyd establyshe the
Persyan Empyre. And haue
commanded all Asia, do not
therfore enuie my sepulchre.

Allexander *th*^{e} greate fyndynge *th*^{e} sepulchre of Cyrus all robbed and spoyled sauinge the hearce and bed w*hi*^{c}*h* was also broken and mangled, for *th*^{e} excedynge reverence he bare to the honorable sepulture of so famous a monarche repayred *tha*t agayne accordinge to his fyrst forme, And after by greate enquirie he had seuerely ponished the robbers of this sacred monumente whe he had red *th*^{e} p*er*sian inscription he cawsed this to be added in greeke.

262

fol. 58^{v}

Whatsoeuer thow beest ô <h> man and from what place so euer that thow comest: for I am assured that thow wylt come. I am he w*h*^{o} conquered the empyre to the Persians. I beseche thee enuie not thys smale quantite of earthe that couereth my seely bodye.

263

fol. 59^{r}

One of the Sages of the Indyans named Zarmanochegas havinge Lyved w*i*^{t}*h*owte any sicknes or greefe a longe tyme, and havinge lived sufficiently as he imagined, <ha> beynge of greate yeres burned him selfe at Athe*n*ce in a great iolytie and braverye, vpon whose tombe was graven this Epitaphe.

Heere lyeth Zarmanochegas an India*n* of Bargose, who accordinge to the custome of the Indians from the father to the sonne, wyllinglye of hys owne selfe hathe eternized and <.> immortalised hym selfe.

264

fol. 62^{r}

Epitaphium Katharinae de Medicis

Some saye in hell:
Three furies dwelle
No wytches do them calle
wi^{t}h whom is mett, and fittly sett
:Lucene Kathy Medicall:
But y<t>f that hell, these three shoulde sell:
And lett them loose, abyde
Thys laste woulde bee, enoughe for three.
and thousande suche beside<s>.

265

fol. 67^{v}

The Romaynes Charras made of fame
when Chrassus armye there dyd lie.
So I to varne haue geuen a name
When wi^{t}h myne hoste I there did dye
But christians set and lerne by mee
To keepe you^{r} faythe in eche degree.
ffor yf that Iulian whi^{c}h dyd speake
By vertewe of S^{t} peters palle
had not comanded me to breake
myne othe my faythe wi^{t}h woorde and all.
Thys noble coste of Hungarye
Had never felte suche slauery
By dynte and crewell stroke
of Turkyshe Scythian yoke.

Iulian: B:B:cardi= nall & legate. from Pope Eu= genius: a vene= tian: borne as Iulian was:

266

fol. 67^{v}

The tyranne Charles throwghe dynte of

deathe is voyde of vytall Bloodde.

A hinderance to *th*^{e} wycked sorte, but vantage to *th*^{e} good

Dispicer of supernall gods, of kynges *th*^{e} dregges & ruste

<A breaker of enacted lawes>

The woorldes Reproche a bytter foe, & butcher of *th*^{e} iuste

A breaker of enacted lawes transgressor of *th*^{e} right

A perfet frenche Caligula in murder of despighte

A powler of hys vassalls all, Infam'd for luste & ire

Sans Reason, rule and measure eke in synnefull

whott desyre-

A patterne playne of trecherye, a mirror of deceipte

A connynge wighte of p*er*iurye by crafte & subtil sleighte

In rage surmountynge phalaris, In fury were fell

In beastely woodnes Busiris *tha*^{t} loved hys sorte

so well.

Of Eynne a synke of vyces all, a lake and lothesome

place

A fylthye spotte to valois bloodde and to *th*^{e} Royall

Race

267

fol. 69^{r}

[A lengthy description of the last days of Sardanapalus and his self immolation among his women and worldly goods in an enormous pyre precedes this excerpt]

Before his dethe he cawsed his successors to erecte him a sepuchre w*i*^{t}*h* this epitaph in the Chaldean Language.

I haue raigned and whyle the sonne gaue me any lighte, I eate and dranke, and tooke all bodely and venerial pleasure, knowenge that mans Lyfe is shorte, subiect to many alteratio*n*s and myserable troubles. and what goods so euer I shoulde leaue other woolde spende in good cheere, Nowe therefore see the cawse whye I haue not passed one daye, but I haue enforced my selfe to take what woordely pleasure so euer I coulde.

This sepulcher was harde by the cytye of Nynyvie w*hi*^{c}*h* soone after decayed and perished beynge a huge heape of earthe or hill, w*hi*^{c}*h* Cyrus cawsed to be <made> taken awaye whe*n* he layd siege to Ninyvie.

268

fol. 74^{v}

ffriends maye a while by arte o*u*^{r} viewe commende

But ‘tys not longe, eare all thinges heere shall ende

The arte of artes is so to lyue & dye

As wee maye lyue in heauen eternally

Iohn Knewstus

he lyued 80: y*ears*: & dyed 29 of Maye :1624:

269

fol. 74^{v}

This face a while my memory may saue

But ‘tys not longe whe*n* deathe all thinges muste ^haue^

A holy lyfe wyll doe more good at laste

Then thowsand woorldes of woordly pleasures ^paste^./

Henry Sands

He lyved 77 yeeres & dyed 9 of Nove*m*ber 1626

270

fol. 87^{r}

An Epitaphe on the Righte honorable & moste <w> Woorthy Robert Earle of Essex

Heere lyes greate Essex deerelinge of ma*n*kinde
ffaire honers lampe, fowle enuyes pray: Artes fame:
Natures pryde; vertues Bullwarke; lure of mynde
wysdomes flower, valours tower; ffortunes shame
Englands soome, Belgias lighte; frannce his starre
Spaynes Thunder
Lisbones lightninge, Irelands clouwde,
The wholle woorldes woonder.

271

fol. 89^{v}

In obitum Roberti Comitis Sarisburi*a*e vicecomitis Cranburne D*omi*ni Cecil de Essenden Thesaurij Angli*a*e qui obijt Maij 1612

Yf greatnes, wysdome, pollycie, or state
or place, or riches, coulde p*er*serue fro*m* fate
Thow hadst not lefte *th*^{e} company of men,
who werte bothe Englands purse, & Englands ^penne^
Great, litle Lorde, who truly dydest inherytt,
thie fathers goodnes, honors, & his spirrytt,
But deathe that equalls scepters w*i*^{t}*h th*^{e} spade
thie bones w*i*th thie g*rea*^{t} Syres to sleepe hathe layed
In good tyme for thie selfe, thowghe for *th*^{e} state
m*igh*^{t} wyshe thie lyfe had borne thie fathers date
And coolde *th*^{e} Parca*e* heere, or be prepared,
w*i*^{t}*h* prayers vnfayned; thie lyfe had yett bynne ^spared^
All nowe we can, is to bewayle thie hearse,

not synge thie prase, that will not stande ^in verse.^

T'wyll fyll g*rea*^{t} volumes; for thie noble p*ar*tes

men wryte not in harde stone, but in there ^hartes.^

272

fol. 90^{v}

Of Thomas Cleere Esquier

buried at Lambeith 1545

Norffolke sprange thee, Lambeith holdes thee deade

Cleere of *th*^{e} Cowntye of Cleremount thowgh highe

Wythin *th*^{e} wombe of Ormunds race thow breade

And sawest thie cosen crowned in thie sighte;

Shelton for love, Surrey for Lord thow chast,

Ay mee while lyfe dyd laste, *tha*^{t} league was te*n*der:

Tracynge whose steps thow sawest Kelsall blaze,

Lawundersey burnt, & battered Bulleyn render,

At Muttrell gates hopeles of all recure,

Thyne Earle halfe deade, gaue in thie hand his wyll:

w*hi*^{c}*h* cawse dyd thee thie pyninge deathe procure,

Ere summers seauen times seauen, thou couldest ^fullfyll^

Ah Cleere, yf loue had booted, care, or coste;

Heaue*n* had not woonne, nor earthe so tymely loste.

This was made by Thomas Erle of Surrey in the tyme of H*enry* 8. beinge <his> the g*rea*^{t} poett & scholler for Cleere his g*rea*^{t} friende & follower

273

fol. 91^{v}

Heere lyeth Si^{r} Thomas Gressam knighte:

who ware a swoorde, but neuer durste to fighte:

Fortune amy, Fortune was hys freende:

Lechery hys Lyfe, an^{d} dronkennes his ende.

Priapus, Bacchus, & totus grex Bibulorum,

et meretrictum[1] [sic.]; memoriæ

ergo, posuerunt.

274

fol. 91^{v}

Si^{r} Horatio Pallauicino

Heere lyeth th knighte wi^{t}*h* the gowty legges

wh*i*^{c}*h* shipped vp wheate & barrelde vp egges

forthe came deathe with his bee some

And swepte hym from Babram

Into the Boosome

of olde father, Abraham

At laste came Hercules wi^{t}*h* his clubbe

And knocked him downe to Belzebub.

275

fol. 91^{v}

Here lyeth Iohn Goddarde *th*^{e} maker of bellowes

tha^{t} was his craftesm*an* & *th*^{e} kynge of fellowes

Yett for all that he coolde not scape deathe

ffor he that made bellowes coolde not make ^breathe^.

[1] 'meretricium'

276

fol. 92[r]

Of Menaclas [sic.] buried in *th*[e] nighte

Menalcas

w*i*[th]owte any ceremonye

Heere lyeeth Menalcas as deade as a logge,

That lyued lyke a deuyll, & dyed like a dogge:

heere dothe he lye sayd I? thou say I lye

for from this place, he parted by and by,

But heere he made his dyscente into hell,

withowte either boocke, candell, or bell.

277

fol. 92[r]

A gent fallinge from his howse[2] [sic.] brake his necke, w*hi*[c]*h* gaue this bad woorld cawse to iudge dyuersly of his bad lyfe: where vpon a good friende made him this Epitaphe re*mem*bringe St Augustin M<a>isercordia d*omi*ni inter po*nte*m et fontem.

My friende Iudge not mee

Thou seest I Iudge not thee:

Bytwyxte the styrrop et the Grownde

Mercy I asked, mercye I fownde

278

fol. 92[r]

vpon a student

of *tha*[t] hope

Shorte was thy lyfe,

yet inuest thow euer:

deathe hath his due,

Yet diest thow neuer

[2] There is an 'x' mark above this word in another hand – suggesting a transcription error with 'howse' for 'horse' was picked up by a later reader.

279

fol. 92^{v}

Heere lieth Thom. Nicks bodye

Who lyued a foole & died a nodye:

As for his sowle aske them *tha*^{t} can tell

Whither fooles sowles goe to heaue*n* or to hell

280

fol. 92^{v}

of M*iste*^{r} Wills d*octor* of phisycke who died at

Vienna

Heere lieth Wyllinge Wills

w*i*^{t}*h* his head full of wyndmylls

281

fol. 92^{v}

heere lieth he, who was borne & cryed

Tolde threescore yeeres, fell sicke, & dyed.

282

fol. 92^{v}

Heere lieth the man whose horse dyd gayne,

The bell in race on Salsbury playne:

Reader I knowe not, whether needs yt,

You or yo*ur* horse rather to reade yt.

283

fol. 92^{v}

Heere lyeth C- vnder grownde

As wyse as L thowsande pounde

he neuer refuced *th*^{e} wyne of his friende

Drinke was his lyfe, and Drink was his ^ende^

284

fol. 92^{v}

Lo heere he lyes, *tha*^{t} reaped hate for loue,

w*hi*^{ch} hard exchange, to slea hymselfe dyd moue. [from Rock of Regard]

285

fol. 93^{r}

Of Tho*mas* Churchyarde *th*^{e} Court poett

Come Alecto and Lende mee thy torche

to finde a Churchyarde in the Churche porche

Pouertye, and Poetrye thys tombe dothe enclose

therefore Gentlemen be mery in prose.

286

fol. 93^{r}

At farlam on the weaste neie Naworth Castle

Iohn Bell broken brow

Ligs vnd*er* this stean:

fower of myne een soonnes

Layd yt on my weame

I was a man of my meate

Maister of my wyfe

I lyued on myne owne lande

with owte mickle stryfe.

287

fol. 93^{r}

vertue, bownty, wytt sweete favors comly grace

vnited were in hir whose corpes lyes in this place

Braue mynded Gourly dyd hir yewthe possesse

And westrop hir age w*i*^{t}*h* equall happines.

[unknown abbreviation]

288

fol. 93^{v}

one to shewe *th*^{e} good opinion he had of his wyfes sowle, who in hir lyfe tyme was a notorious shrewe writeth thus

Wee lyued one & twenty yeere

As man & wyfe together

I coolde not staye hir longer heere

She is gone I knowe not whither

But dyd I knowe I doe proteste

(I speake it not to flatter)

Of all *th*^{e} woomen in *th*^{e} woorlde

I sweare I do neare come at hir

And sure hir sowle is not in hell

The deuill coolde neare abyde hir

Her Body is bestowed well

This handsome graue doothe holde hir

But I suppose she's soarde alofte

ffor ^in^ <with> the laste greate thunder

Mee thowghte I harde her very voyce

Rendinge the clowdes a sunder.

289

fol. 94^{r}

of stanhoope chancelor of London

Ten in *th*^{e} hundred lyes heere ingraued

A thowsande to one his sowle sholde be saued

In purgatory he was but coolde not be bayled

So Charon to hell his sowle soone conuayed.

290

fol. 94^{r}

Heere lyeth <dic Eccl*esia*e > ^BB Quercus^ as stowte as an oake

He stunke lyke a stercus yett he dyd not smoke.

291

fol. 94^{r}

Agayne

Heere lyeth dic eccl*esia*e freende to the papiste

who lyved lyke a macheuilia*n* & dyed lyke an athieste

292

fol. 94^{r}

Thorpe moriens *th*^{e} wyse *tha*^{t} lyu'ed by his wyttes,

w*i*^{t}*h* coostninge & shiftinge in all franticke fyttes,

w*i*th swearinge, & drinkinge, w*i*^{t}*h* harn*e* & horn*e*,

In eche all sowst Lordlyke, chaked vp on *th*^{e} scorn*e*.

Lyes heere interred, makinge muche moane,

He styll coolde not lyue w*i*^{t}*h* his megge, Sue, & Joane.

Of all that he borowed he neare owghte woolde paye,

Singe a dirge for his sowle & saye well awaye

Sepult
apud fel=
sa*m* 12 <Ju>
Junij
1625

293

fol. 94^{r}

Heere lyes Gabriell warcup a ma*n* of few woords

who kyll'd hym selfe w*i*^{t}h eatinge of curds

who had he byn ruled by Mary his wyfe

Mighte well haue lyued a longer lyfe

294

fol. 94^{v}

Heere lyeth enterred for wormes meate

Robyn the lytle, *tha*^{t} was so greate

not Robyn good fellow nor Robyn Whoode

But Robyn *tha*^{t} neuer dyd any man good

A monster borne & sente from vgly fate

To spoyle the Kingdome & *th*^{e} fate

His lyfe was full of deuelishe Innes

Traps for his foes & trycks for his friendes

I care not nor I can not tell

whither he be gone to heauen or to hell

But assuredly heere lyes, enerthed *th*^{e} foxe

That stunke whiles he lyued, & dyed on *th*^{e} poxe

295

fol. 94^{v}

Heere hobbinall lyeth o*u*^{r} shepharde while eare

that once a yeere duly o*u*^{r}, fleeces dyd sheare

to please vs he chayned hys curre to a clogge

& was vnto vs bothe Shepharde & dogge

ffor oblations to Pan his manner was thus

Hym selfe gaue a tryfle, then offered vp vs

Lo thus by his wysdme this prouidente swayne

Kepte hym selfe on *th*[e] mowntayne & vs on *th*[e] playne
Where many a horne pype he tun'd to his Phyllys
And sweetely songe walsingha*m* to his Amaryllys.
Whiles he lyued neyth*er* woolfe, nor tygar feared wee
He suffered no woorse thinge come neere vs, the*n* hee.
Tyll Attrapos p[ai]d hy*m* a pocke on *th*[e] drabbe.
ffor in spighte of his tarre boxe he dyed on *th*[e] skabbe.

296

fol. 95[r]

Heere lyeth g*rea*[t] Salisbury who litle of stature
a monster of myschiefe ambitious of nature
a states ma*n* that dyd impouerishe *th*[e] crowne
solde mylls & lands & forrests cutt downe
his care of the comons, *th*[e] contry now feeles
w*i*[t]h trickes & w*i*[t]*h* trapps & w*i*[t]*h* preuy seales
Kynge contry & como*n*s mourne & lamente
he is gone to hell to rayse *th*[e] devills rente.

297

fol. 95[r]

Heere lyes enterred lyttle robyn *th*[e] woorthie
that lyued so longe tyll he dyed of *th*[e] scuruye
poxe out he mighte haue doone vs the fauour
to p*ar*te, & <bynde> ^behinde^ hym <to> ^not^ haue lefte suche a sauor
this crabb was framed by the devyll hymselfe
and was a m*os*[t] crooke Cecylian elfe
some say thay care not nor thay can not tell
But I dare be swoorne he posted to hell
& savinge a nasion to sende a note by hym
to damne peter Lambert I wyshed hym to ^hym^ hy[.]

who sente me woorde but by the laste poste

he was kyndly embraced by the devyll his hoste

298

fol. 95^{r}

Hic iacet Hobsonus qui vixit fower score

et onus.

Heere lyeth Hobson vnd*er* this stone

dryuinge his carte at fower score & one

299

fol. 95^{r}

Agayne

Heere lyeth Hobson, amongest his many betters

A man not learned, yett a ma*n* of letters

fol. 95^{v}

ffewe) [sic.] in cambridge, vnto his prayse be it spoken

But can reme*m*ber him, by some good token.

ffro*m* thence to Londo*n*, rode he daye by daye,

Tyll deathe benightinge hym, tooke hym awaye,

No wond*er* thinke yee that he thus is gone,

ffor moste men knowe, he longe was drawenge on.

Hys teame was of *th*^{e} beste, neyth*er* coolde he haue

Byn myrd in any place, but in a graue.

And there he stycks in deede, styll lyke to stande,

Vntyll some Angell lende his helpinge hande.

Then reste thow heere, thow ever toylinge swayne,

The supreame waggoner, nexte Charles his wayne.

300

fol. 95^{v}

Lo Michaell Draiton Esquire a memorable poet of this age exchanged this Lawrell for a crowne of Glory. An*n*^{o} 1631:

Doe, pious Marble: Lett thie Readers knowe
what thay, And what there children owe
To Draitons name; whose sacred duste
we recommende vnto thie truste,
Protecte his Mem'rie, & p*re*serue his Storye;
Remayne a lasting monum*en*^{te} of his glorye;
And when thy ruynes shall disclame
To bee *th*^{e} Treas'rer of his name;
His name that can not fade, shalbee.
An euerlastinge monumente to thee.

301

fol. 106^{r}

[alchemical symbol for 'Sun'] 15^{o} Marcij 1630

Paule Dewse lyes heere, now lett vs make good cheere.
In, 6 weekes space, <entombe> emballmed was his grace.
And the*n* at lengthe, entombed was his strengthe.
w*i*^{t}h twoe pence deale, w*hi*^{c}h wente from pole to pole.
Dewse was his name, & Dewse his deale dyd frame.
Dewse was his chaunce, but Traye dyd him aduannce
Ofte dyd he caste, & styll he rest so faste.
That at *th*^{e} laste, he was all sauinge paste.
In 20. yeeres, yett layed vp but three pence,
ffor Charons freighte, to carry hym from hence.
Heere welladaye, thay sange for Dewse & Traye.

Who soone was gone, w*i*^{t}howte all morne, or moane.

To lye in claye, but not east thay saye

ffor w*hi*^{c}h a durge, was sunge by good Panurge.

To charme *th*^{e} sprighte, *tha*^{t} doothe him so affrighte.

And so Adiewe, *th*^{e} owlde 6 Clericks crewe

I heere Bowe Bell, doothe bydde yo^{u} all fare well.

vixit immeritò, obijt gratissime

Anno Clericatus vltimo.

Totus grex flentium, et Vlulantium,

non sine lachrimis, et gaudio,

posuere.

302

fol. 23r

What rends the temples vayle, wher is day gone

how can a generall darknesse close *th*e sunn

[Ast]rologers in vayne *thei*r skill doe try

nature must needs be sicke when God can dye

303

fol. 23r

of a gent*leman* of *th*e Temple *tha*t dyed about *th*e age of 24./

Twyce twelue yeares not full told, a weary breath

I haue exchanged for a wished death.

my Course was short, *th*e longer is my rest,

G*od* takes them soonest whom he loueth best!

For he *tha*t's borne today & dyes tomorrow,

Looseth some dayes of mirth, but month's of sorrow./

304

fol. 23r

A meditation of Death./

All busied man should'st thou take such Care

To lengthen thy liues short Kalender;

when eu*er*ie spectacle thou look'st vpon

Presents, and Acts they excecuc*i*on.

Each drooping season, and each flower doth cry

Foole as I fade, and wither thou must dye,

the beating of thy pulse when thou art well

Is iust the tolling of thy passing-bell;

Night is thy hearse, whose sable Canopee

Couers alyke deceased day, & thee.

And all those weeping dewes *tha*^{t} mightly [sic.] fall

Are but as teares shed for thy funerall

Hen*ry* King.

305

fol. 47^{v}

Vpon Infamous Ladie Lake.

Here's *th*^{e} brest of badnesse; vices Nurse:

The badge of vsurie; the Cleargies Curse:

The staine of womankind; Trademens decaye;

the patronesse of pride; extortio*n* high waye;

The forge of slander; bawde of each bad action:

freind to Romes whore, spie to *th*^{e} Spanish factio*n*:

A bitch of Court: a com*m*on pose'nous snake:

worse then all theis, here lyes *th*^{e} La*dy* Lake./

306

fol. 47^{v}

If Hea'uen be pleas'd when sinners leaue to sinne,

If hell be pleas'd when it a soule doeth winne.

If Earth be pleas'd when it hath lost a knaue.

then all are pleas'd, for Cisse is in his graue./

307

fol. 47^{v}

An Epitaph vpon S*i*^{r} Fra*ncis* Bacon Lo*rd* Ch*ancellor*./

Here is Francis de verulane Lo*rd* Cha*ncellor* God saue him,

w*ha*^{t} man is this k*ing*dom, durst hether to out braue him?

but now he is Content for his motto to haue it,

Franciscus superbus Non sic cogitauit./

308

fol. 47^{v}

Of S*i*r Ch*ristopher* Hatton./

Here lyes in gold, and not in brasse

at least a man and halfe.

Who liuing was a siluer asse,

Now dead a golden calfe./

309

fol. 47^{v}

Epitaphs of Sir Francis Walsingham & Sir Philip Sidney

Nullus Francisco tumulus nullusque Philipo,

Christoforo mons est, ac tumulus cumulus.

Philipe and Francis haue no Tombe,

for Christopher hath all the roome./

310

fol. 47^{v}

of the same./

Sir Fran*cis* and s*i*^{r} Philipe haue noe Tombe

S*i*^{r} Christopher hath roome enough for 3.:

And they lye not soe for want of roome

or lacke of loue in their posteritie.

fol. 48^{r}

Who would fro*m* liuing hearts vntombe such ones,

to burie vnder a few Marble stones?

Vertues vye's not per thombe we neede not raise;

Let them trust tombes, *tha*^{t} haue outliu'd their praise./

311

fol. 48^{r}

At hatfield neere hartford there lyes in a coffin

A heart breaking harpie of shape lyke a Dolphin;

whose proiects & plotts did all of them tend

to Cosen the K*ing* and the state to offend,

His traines, his Countermines, and his brauado's

were all to endanger by close ambuscado's

w*i*^{t}h trick's and deuices, and legier domaine

He plaide the Iugler w*i*^{t}h Fra*nce* & w*i*^{t}h spaine,

He fained religion and Zealous affectatio*n*

yet fauoured *th*^{e} papists, & gaue preists p*ro*tection,

by swearing, protesting, and demnable lyes

He stole the K*ing*^{s} fauors and blinded his eyes

But yet though he had all the wyles of a fox

He could not preuent hir *tha*^{t} gaue him the pox

Twixt Suff*olk* and Walls*ingham* he often did iournie,

To tilt at the one, at the othe^{r} to turnie.

In w*hi*^{c}h whott encounter he gott such a bloe

As could neue*r* be cur'd by Atkins nor poe;

No, nor the rare French-man *tha*^{t} cur'd his ald M*aster*

Could do him good w*i*^{t}h his bath or his plaister

for this his disease was giuen him by a freind

and therefore had reason to keepe it to his end./

312

fol. 48^{r}

Hic Catharina jacet, jacet, Vrsula, barbara, tres hæ,

Frater et Andreas qui lapidauit eas.

Kate, Vrsley, Barbara theis 3. virgins lye here,

And frier Andrew, whom these 3. did beare./

313

fol. 48^{r}

Here lye Gressham vnder ground

as wise as 50: 1000 ^{ds} pound.

He neue*r* refused the wine of his freind

drinke was his life, drinke was his end./

314

fol. 48^{v}

<Of M*iste*^{r} Iohn Chidley, and S*i*^{r} Ch*arles* Blunt./>

<Here lies Iohn Chidley, and S*i*^{r} Charles Blunt,

the one lou'd a horse, the othe^{r} a C*unt*./>

315

fol. 48^{v}

Ô, all welch-men crye you hough, for *th*^{e} death of Dauie Gough,

Omnes wall*ensium;* clamant hough, propter mortem dauie Gough.

316

fol. 48^{v}

of Rob*er*^{t} E*arl* of Essex./

He *tha*^{t} in Belgia fought for Englands Queene;

he *tha*^{t} soe oft in bloodie field was seene:

he *tha*^{t} did knock at Lisbone's statelye gate,

He *tha*^{t} was fitt'st to giue Mars check-mate:

He *tha*^{t} proud Spaine so oft did put in feare:

He *tha*^{t} in Fra*nce* at Ronne[1] braue Armes did beare:

He *tha*^{t} did Cales surprise and Captaine make

He *tha*^{t} strong seated Flores, and Corues did take

He *tha*^{t} did make tyrone to yeald to peace;

Him Cankred Cecill slew, but not disease./

317

fol. 48^{v}

Of S*i*^{r} Fra*ncis* Drake.

Where Drake first found *th*^{e} last he lost his fame

And for his Tombe left nothing but his Name

his bodie is buried vnder so great waue:

the sea, *tha*^{t} was his glorie is his graue.

Of him true Epitaph noe man can make

[1] Rouen

For who can saye, Here lyes S*i*^{r} Fra*ncis* Drake./

318

fol. 48^{v}

Of Ladie Marie Rogers./

Here lyes the Ladie Marie in Earthlye presse

that dyde 30 yeares before she was Countesse./

319

fol. 48^{v}

Epitaphs of Doctor Dale./

1. Dale is dead, w*hi*^{c}h Dale I praie you?

Dale the maister of delaye you.

Or anoth*e*^{r} Dale foresooth

that could play a trick of youth:

Doctor Dale I meane *th*^{e} same,

Saue *tha*^{t} Dallie was his Name

2 Dale is dead, and who doeth misse him?

those fowle whore's *tha*^{t} wont to kisse him

fol. 49^{r}

kisse him sure that were a wonder,

for his nose their lips would sunder.

sunder lip's? no nor more *neithe*^{r},

when they Closely mett to geath*e*^{r}../

320

fol. 49^{r}

Of Rich*ard* Bankroft ArchB*ishop* of Canterburie./

Here lyeth his grace, And if his race be bad

It is for want of *tha*^{t} w*hi*^{c}h whil'st he liu'd he had./

321

fol. 49^{r}

Of the same again

Here lies Dick of Canterburie, suspected a Papist

who liu'd a Machiauillan, and dyde an Atheist./

322

fol. 49^{v}

Of the Bishop of Landaffe./

A learn'd Prelate late dispose to Laugh.

hearing one name the Bishop of Landaffe

You should quoth, he, aduising well theron

Call him Lord Aff, for all the Land is gone./

323

fol. 51^{r}

An Epitaph on *th*^{e} trulye Noble Rich*ard* E*arl* of Dorset who leaft this world *th*^{e} . . . of March. 1624.

Let no prophane Ignoble foote tread <there> neare [hand B correction]

this howlowed peere of Earth,, Dorset lyes here [commas added in hand B]

A sad poore relique of a Noble spirit,

free as the Ayre, and ample as his meritt.

Whose least perfectio*n* was Large & greate

enough to make a Com*m*on man Compleate,
A soule refin'd and Cull'd fro*m* manie men,
that reconciled the sword vnto *th*^{e} pen.
vsing both well noe proud forgetting Lord
but mindfull of meane Names & of his word
one *tha*^{t} did loue for honor not for ends,
^and had *th*^{e} noblest waye of making freinds,^
---------- by louing first one *tha*^{t} did know the Court
yet vnder stood it better by report
Then practise for he nothing tooke from thence
but the kings fauour for his recompence./
fol. 51^{r}
One for religion or his Countries good
tha^{t} valu'd not his fortune, Nor his blood?
Ri^t^ch in the world's opinion, good mens praise,
And full in all wee could desire but dayes.
He *tha*^{t} is warn'd of this and shall forbeare
To vent a sigh for him, or lend a teare
Mair he liue long and scorn'd vnpittied fall
And want a mourner at his funerall.
Hen*ry* King.

324

fol. 52^{r}
Vpon M*iste*^{r} Will*ia*m Hopton by Hen*ry* Halswell./

Greifes p*ro*digalls where are you vnthrifts, where,
Whose teare and sighs extemporarie weare
Powr'd out not spent, who neu*er* aske aday
yo*u*^{r} debt of sorrow on the graue to pay,
But as if one howre mourning could suffice

Dare thinke it now no sinne to haue dry eyes
Goe such as you, and mingle w*i*^{t}h *th*^{e} Trayne
of widdowers who for the 3*r*^{d}. wife Complaine,
or at some looser females obsequies.

Rowle downe the guilty Moisture of yo*u*^{r} eyes
Away prophane not Hoptons death nor shame
His graue w*i*th sorrow worthy of *tha*^{t} Name
Sorrow Conceiu'd and vented both to geath*e*^{r}
Lyke prayers of Puritans or in fowle weather
The saylers forc't Deuotio*n* when In feare.
They pray one Minutte and the next they sweare
No, I must meete w*i*^{t}h men, men *tha*^{t} do know
How to Compute their teares, and weigh their owe
that Can set downe in an exact account
to what the Lost of Hopton doth amount
tell the p*ar*ticulars how much of truth
of vnmatch't vertues, and vnstayned youth,
Is gone w*i*^{t}h him, and hauing sum'd all looke
Lyke bankrupt Marchants on their reconing bookes
W*i*^{t}h eyes Confounded and amazed to <see> fynde
The poore and blanke ^remainder^ left behinde./

325

fol. 52^{r}

Vpon M*iste*^{r} I. H. a Counsellor of Lincolnes Inne./

Here lyes a Lawyer, who till his tyme of dying
did gayne much mony by his vse of lying
Liuing he ly'd; and dead he lyes you see
w*i*^{t}hin his graue, where let him lye for mee./

326

fol. 52[r]

To the Ghoast of Rob*er*[t] Wisdome./

Thou once a body, ^now^ but Ayre
Arch-botcher of a Psalme or prayer
From Carfan come ;.
And patch mee vp a zealous <lye> lay
w*hi*[c]h an ald eu*er* and for aye
or all and some./

fol. 52[v]

On such a spirit lend mee
That may a hymne downe send mee
To purge my braine.
So Robert looke behynde thee,
Least Turke or Pope doe fynd thee,
And goe to bed agayne./

327

fol. 52[v]

Vpon an vnquiet wife.

Here lyes a woman (no man can deny it)
she dy'd in peace, although she liu'd vnquiet.
Her husband prayes if neere this place yo[u] walke
Tread softly, for if *tha*[t] she wa<l>ke she'le talke./ [hand B correction]

328

fol. 66^{r}

<here lyes one flood A rotten knaue

fit for a dunghill, not a graue,

He was compos'd of cough and rhumes

of all diseases, and all bad fumes

His flesh the pox did surely wast it

'Cause the wormes should neuer tast it

For 'twas so Leaporous and soe foule

That it infected had a soule,

A soule, that w*i*^{t}hout questions 'tis

No body would haue lodg'd but his

But now 'tis gone, and God knowes whethe^{r},

but God grant myne may ne*ve*re come thithe*i*^{r}*./>*

329

fol. 97^{v}

Com[mander] Lei*cester*

heere lies the worthy warriour that neu*er* blouded sworde
& eke the noble Courtier that neuer kept his worde

330

fol. 97^{v}

Io*hn* Taylor

heere lieth ritche Taylor of Colman streete
who had beard to his belly & belly to his feete

331

fol. 98^{r}

Steuen fforster
In Stowes suruay
of London/

Deuout soules that passe this way
for Stephen fforster late maior hartily pray
& dame Agnes his spouse, to God consecrate,
that of pitie this house made for Londoners in Ludgate
so that for lodging and water prisoners here nought pay
as their keep*er*s place all answere at dreadfull doomesday

332

fol. 98^{r}

Robert ffabian
alder*man* died i5ii
in *th*^{e} s[am]e
booke

Like as the day his course doth consume
& the new morrow springeth againe as fast
so man & woman by natures custome
this lif do passe, at last in earth are cast
in ioy, & sorrow w*hi*^{ch} here their time doe wast
neuer in one state, but in course transitory
so full of Change is of this world the glory./

333

fol. 98^{r}

Jo*hn* Rainwell fishmonger died a*nn*^{o} d*omi*ni i445 in *th*^{e} s*am*e booke.

Citizens of London call to yo*u*^{r} remembrance
the famous Iohn Rainwell sometime yo*u*^{r} maior,
of the staple of Callis, so was his chance
here lieth now his corps, his soule bright & faire
is taken to heauens blisse, thereof is no dispaire
his acts beare witnis, by matters of recorde
how charitable he was, & of what accorde
no man hath bin so beneficiall as hee
vnto the Citie in giuing liberalitie./

334

fol. 98^{r}

Iohn Shrow stockfishmonger died a*nn*o 1487 In the s*am*e booke

ffarewell my frends the tide abideth no man
I am dep*ar*ted hence & so shall yee
But in this passage the best songe that I can
is requiem æternam now Iesu grant it me
when I haue ended all mine adu*er*sitie
grante me in paradize to haue a mansion
that shedst thy bloud for my redemption.

335

fol. 98^{r}

Rob*er*t dalusse barber In that booke

As flowers in feild thus passeth lif
naked then clothed feeble in the end
it sheweth by Robert dalusse and Alison his wif
Christ them saue from the power of the feiend

336

fol. 98^{v}

Th*omas* Knowles grocer in *th*^{e} s*am*e booke

Here lieth grauen vnder this stone
Thomas Knowles, both flesh and bone
grocer & alderman yeares fortie,
Chreif & twice maior truly.
And for he should not lie alone
here lieth with him his good wiff Ioan
they were together sixtie yere
& nineteene Children they had in feere./

337

fol. 98^{v}

Simon Streete in *th*^{e} s*am*e booke

Such as I am such shall yo^{u} be
grocer of london sometime was I
the kings wayer more then yeres twentie
Simon <Stee> ^Streete^ called in my place
& good fellowship faine would trace
therefore in heauen eu*er*lasting lif
Iesu send me & Agnes my wiff
Kerlie Merlie[1] my wordes were tho
& deo gratias I Coupld thereto
I passed to God in the yere of grace
a thousand fower hundred it was/

[1] Refers to 'Kyrie Eleison'

338

fol. 98^{v}

Charles Blunt
Lo*rd* Mountioy by himself made, who died 1545.
In *th*^{e} s*am*e booke/

Willingly haue I sought willingly haue I found
the fatall end that wrought thither as dutie bound
dischardgd I am of that I ought to my contrey by honest wound
My soule dep*ar*ted Christ hath bought the end of man is ground

339

fol. 98^{v}

Th*omas* Tusser
1580

In *th*^{e} s*am*e booke

Here Thomas Tusser Clad in earth doth lie
that sometime made the points of husbandrie
by him then learne thou maist, here learne <tho> ^we^ must
when all is done, we slepe & turne to dust
And yet through Christ to heauen we hope to goe
Who reade his bookes shall finde his faith was soe/

340

fol. 98^{v}

S*i*^{r} Io*hn* Leigh
died 1564

In *th*^{e} s*am*e booke

no wealth no praise no bright renowne no skill
no force no fame no princis loue no toyle
though forraine land by trauell search ye will
no faithfull seruice of the Contrey soyle
can lif p*ro*long one minute of an houre
but death at length will execute his power
for S*i*^{r} Iohn Leigh to sundry contreys knowne
a worthy knight well of his prince esteem'd
by seeing much to great experience growne
though safe on seas though sure on land he seemd
yet heere he lies too sone by death opprest
his fame yet liues, his soule in heauen doth rest.

341

fol. 99[r]

Io*hn* Barton
died i460

in *th*[e] s*am*e booke

Iohn Barton lyeth vnder heere
Sometimes of london citizen & m*er*cer
& Ienet his wiff with their p*ro*genie
beene turned to earth as ye may see
freinds free what so ye bee
pray for vs wee you pray
as you see vs in this degree
so shall yo[u] be another day.

342

fol. 99[r]

Rob*er*t Trapps
gouldsmith died i526
ibud

When the bells be merily ronge & the masse deuoutly song
& the meate merily eaten then shall Robert Trapps his
wiues & Children be forgotten./

343

fol. 99[r]

P*hilip* [Sidney] died a*nn*o
i586
ff*rancis* [Walsingham] i590.
X*topher* [Hatton]. i591.

Phillip & ffrancis haue no tombe
for great xpofer [Christopher] takes all the roome

344

fol. 99[v]

La*dy* Riche

Heere lies the Lady Penelope, or the Lady Riche
or the Countesse of Devonshire I cannot tell which

345

fol. 99^{v}

Ric*hard* Pinner

vngentle ffates & most iniurious death
who hath bereau'd dick Pinner of his breath
for liuing hee by scraping of a pin
made better dust then thow hast made of him.

346

fol. 99^{v}

Lo*rd* B:

Solon was Counted riche as he was wise
& like to Iob in all his qualities
and that he was like Iob and no man might doubt him
hee always kept a sorte of scabbes about him

347

fol. 99^{v}

Sir Io*hn* Spencer
obijt i609

Heere lies S*i*^{r} Iohn Spencer an ell vnder ground
who laid out by the dram & laid vp by *th*^{e} pound
hee died intestate that the world might not say
how he like a foole gaue his money away
but left what he got with a curse & a groane
& died as he liu'd a true slaue to his owne
now how ere his soule speedes yet his goods & landes
are sand for they fell into the lords handes.

348

fol. 100^{r}

S*i*^{r} Ph*ilip* Sidney

England netherland the heauens and the artes
the souldiers & the world haue made six partes
of noble Sidney for who would suppose
that a smale heape of stones Could Sidney inclose
his body hath England for shee it fedd
netherland his blood in her defence shedd
the heauens haue his soule the arts haue his fame

all souldiers the greif the world his good name.

349

fol. 100^{v}

Earle of Dorset
late L*ord* Tre*asurer*
obijt Apr*il* 1608

I:S

Heere lies the body of a worthy peere
who to his Prince & Contrey was thrice deere
in his expense of house beyond Compare
to his owne blood and tenants passing rare
good to the poore & faithfull to his frende
his endles paines wrought his vntimely ende
his other vertues & his lif w<...>^ere^ such
as shall ellswhere receiue a larger tuch

350

Of the s*am*e Earle

I:S

My pen did ner expect to deck thy herse
with the black enseigne of a mournefull verse
it had imploym*en*^{t}. of more worthy Ende
whilst thy best p*ar*te remain'd in her fraile rinde
disastrous Chaunge imcomparable losse
their Cannot be behind a greater Crosse
but all in vayne my eies with teares oreflowe
what is decreed aboue must stand belowe

351

Of the s*am*e Earle

M*iste*^{r} Silvester

Deuout to God deere to his leige & loyall
kinde to his kinn firm to his frend at need
muses support, the same on word & deede
artes ornament, wittes honour vertues tryall
a bounteous host for entertaineme*n*^{t} royall
& plenteous almes the hungry poore to feede
the orfans hope the widdows help to speede

expecting still deathes summons by lifes diall
Such Sackuile liu'd then though his death might seeme
Soddaine to vs it was not so to him.

352

101^{r}

Miste^{r} Churchyard

I:S

Stay (gentlemen) & heere a paradox maintain'd,
which is, that in the lesse, the greater is Contain'd
for in this narrow porch a Churchyard heere doth lie
who did write much, much more then pleas'd in poetrie.
his veluet Cloke & Cap was all the wealth he had,
for more few poets haue, plenty will make them mad.
Churchyard I wish thy soule, in heauen had such neere (place grace
as to this sacred Church, thy body heere hath place.

353

101^{r}

Charles Chester

I:S

In the Church next to ludgate on the hill
his body lyes whose tongue could ner lie still
vastly he liu'd & wretchedly did die
a iust reward for such a trencher flie
yf yo^{u} would knowe his name, it was Charles Chester
who whil'st he breath'd was helde *th*^{e} bittrest iester./

354

101^{r}

Si^{r} Io*hn* Spencer

Take S and R: from his surname who here doth lie
the idoll of his hart yo^{u} quickly then willl spie
he vnto none did good, vnto him self was worst
which sordide made his lif his death was more accurst
for nothing then <did> ^he^ gaue, left all his gathr'd pence

to wiff, a daughter match't with one of great expence
sone died his wiff whom liuing he had kept so straight
that now to haue so much, the ioye ouecame [sic.] her hart
his sonne in lawe who at the Court did most comerse
niente, vp & downe his Crounes of gold sone to disperse
but they with their pale looks did him so much dismay
as they of late haue tooke his senses cleane away.

355

101^{r}

Heere lies a pretty woman neither lowe nor tall
daughter to m*iste*^{r} Cranfeild of Bassing hall
powdred beeff with Caretts was her vsuall dishe
& a Cup of Claret, shee car'd not much for fishe
shee neu*er* would, tell lie, nor would shee in in a dett
but shee was somewhat neere, & giuen to much to frett
in bloud shee did delight, not humaine, but of fleas,
because they suckt her blood & did her oft disease

M*ist*^{ris} Sucklinge

viuit diuq*ue*
viu<.>^a^t

I:S

356

fol. 104^{r}

Thy sweete desire to praise thy God
thy tender loue to parents deere
Thy nature milde to euerie one
remaines aliue, though corps lie heere./
Viuit post funera virtus
obijt Ianuarij 2, i587 a*e*tatis sua*e* 5./

Edwardi Graunte

357

fol. 108[v]

Jo[*hn*] Ja[*mes?*] Triuulca
seruitor to He*nry* 8.

I finde the rest within my graue
which in my lif I Could not haue.

358

fol. 108[v]

Arch*Bishop* B*ancroft*

Heere lies (Dic ecclesiæ) neither puritan nor papist,
who liud a machiauell & died an Atheist.

359

fol. 108[v]

D: Stannop

Tenn in the hundred lies vnder this stone
a hundred to tenn to the diuell he is gone.

360

fol. 109[r]

Epitaphia in Hollandia

[same text as below, appears to be Dutch?]

Heere lies Martin Cassenbrod. forgiue mee o Lord God
as I wod forgiue thee were thy worship Marten Cassenbrode
and my owne Worship o*u*[r] lord God.

361

fol. 109[v]

Heere lyes the wife of Badnes, Vices nurse,
the badge of vsurie, the Clargies Curse,
the staine of woman kind, trades mens decaye,
the patronesse of pride, extortions high way,
A plague to Court, a comon stinging snake,

worse then all theise there lyes the lady Lake.

362

fol. 109^{v}

Heere vnder lyes depriud of life

my Mother, my sister, M*ist*^{r}*e*^{ss,} and my wife.

363

fol. 109^{v}

An Epitaph vpon S*i*^{r} Stephen Some that was vs'd to say to

Delinquents that desird remission from imprisonment

Before God you shall goe.

Here lyes S*i*^{r} Stephen Somme w*i*th his head full loe.

To whome Death said, Before God you must goe.

364

fol. 109^{v}

On the E*arl* of Essex

Stay Passenger, and wonder now, that so thou maist neuer wonder more Here lyes Robert Earle of Essex, who being naturally good was by the iniquity of the Times compeld to die Iustly, yow expected an Epitaph and instead hereof you haue a Ridle, If yow vnderstand it not, be silent; Prosterity when it shall growe to get more Liberty shall both vnfold it and lament it.

365

fol. 110[r]

Vpon the most renowned

King of Sweden. 1632

Seeke not reader heere to find

Entombd, the throne of such a Mind

As did the great Gustauus fill;

whome neither time nor Death ^can^ kill.

Goe and read all the Caesars acts

The rage of Sythian Cattaracts,

What Epire, Greece, or Rome hath done

What kingdomes Goths and Vandalls wonne;

Read all the Worlds Heroyick Storie

And learne but half this Heroe's glorie:

Theise Conquered Liuing, but life flying,

Reuiu'd their foes, hee conquerd Dying;

And Mars hath offred as hee falls

An Hecatombe of Generalls.

The greatest Comparer co*u*ld not tell

Plutarch Whence to draw out his Parrallell.

Then do not hope to find him heere

ffor whome Earth was a Narrow Sphere,

Not by a search in this small narrow roome

To find a king soe farr aboue a Tombe.

S*i*[r] Tho*mas* Roe.

366

fol. 110[r]

Another

Gustauus in the bed of Honor dy'd

while Victorie lay weeping by his side.

367

fol. 110[r]

Archbish*op* B*ancroft*

Heere lyes his Grace in cold earth clad

who dy'd w*i*[th] want of what hee had.

368

fol. 110[v]

Vpon the death of M*iste*r Prick a fellow of Christs

Colledge in Cambridge

Vpon the fift day of Nouember

Christs-Colledge lost a priuy member

And maids wiues widowes made great mone

That Prick was laid vnder a stone.

369

fol. 110[v]

Vpon S*i*[r] William Courten the great Rich Marchant. *tha*[t] was suposd to dy w*i*[th] griefe/.

Hold, Passenger! and lett him lye

ffor heere he sleepeth quietly,

That was w*i*[th] many Cares possest,

The Courten's drawne, Peace! Let him rest.

370

fol. 110^{v}

Vpon J: B*rowne*

His life pure White, age Greene, his Manners Gray,
Browne was his name, Black was his fatall day.

371

fol. 111^{r}

Vpon D*octo*^{r} Weekes.

Hee's much mistaken who heere seekes
ffor dayes, monethes, yeares, heer's none but Weekes;
Can Weekes bee w*i*thout dayes? Be not offended!
ffor here wee see that this Weekes dayes are ended.

372

fol. 111^{r}

Vpon a Sexton at Cambridge that was knowckt downe
dead w*i*th a Clapper of a bell *tha*^{t} dropt from the steeple

Heere lyes Iohn Hall the Vniuersitie Capper
that liud by the Bell and dyed by the Clapper.

373

fol. 111^{r}

But he reco<u>uering retorted this

Iohn Hall's aliue and liues in Hope
To liue by the Bell when thou'lt dye by the Rope./

374

fol. 111[r]

Made by M*iste*[r] Morris
a gent that died
soudainly and found
in his pocket

Twice twelue yeares not ful told a weary breath,
I haue exchanged for a wished death:
my Time was short, the longer is my rest,
God takes them soonest whome he loueth best:
ffor hee that's borne today, and dyes to morrow,
Looseth some howers of Mirth, but moniths of Sorrow.

375

fol. 111[r]

At Terrel by Worcester
Engrauen on a Stone.

Heere lyes buried vnd*er* this stone
The Body of William Tomson
Who built three Almeshouses for euer sure
To the Towne of Terrell for euer to indure
And forty pound a yeare throughout all Generations
ffor the bringing vp schollers to Learning & binding them to occupationes
fol. 111[v]
His Soules in Heauen as all wee trust
though his body lyes buryed vnd*er* the dust
Hee left the World of him emptie
In the yeare of o*u*[r] Lord God 1626.

376

fol. 111^{v}

In the Same Church.

Of William Wilson and Iane his Wife
And Alice their daughter deare,
Theise lines be left to giue report
Theise three lye Buryed heere.
And Alice was Henrie Deacons wife
W*hi*^{ch} Henrie liu'd on Earth,
And was the Sargeant Plumber vnto
Our good Queene Elizabeth.
And Alice left yssue heere
Her vertuous Daughter Iane,
To bee his Comfort euery where
Now Alice is dead and gone.

377

fol. 111^{v}

On S*i*^{r} Iohn Vele.

S*i*^{r} John Veale whome Death hath taken
Surfetted and dyed w*i*th eating Bacon
T'was very hard, for still wee see,
Veale & Bacon doth well agree./

378

fol. 111[v]

On Iohn Euill.

The same Backwards and forwards.

Euil did I liue

379

fol. 112[r]

Vpon a Cornish Begger

Heere Brawne the Quondam Begger lyes
Who counted by his tale
Some six score winters and aboue
Such vertue is in ale.
Ale was his meat, his drinke, his Cloth
Ale did his life repriue
And could hee still haue drincke his ale
hee still had bene aliue.

380

fol. 112[v]

Vpon S*i*[r] Walter Rawleigh.

If Spite be pleas'd when as her Obiect's dead
Or Malice pleas'd when it hath bruis'd the head
Or Enuie pleasd when it hath what it would
Then all bee pleasd for Rawleighs blood is Cold.
W*hi*[ch] were it warme, and actiue, would orecome,
And strike the two first blind, the other dum.

381

fol. 67^{v}

September 15th. 1628

I George Duke of Buckingham.

I that my country did betray,
Vndid my king, that let me sway
His sceptre as I pleas'd, threw downe
The glory of great Britaines Crowne,
The Courtiers bane, the Countries hate,
The agent for the Spanish state,
The Papiests friend, the Gospells foe,
The Church and Kingdomes ouerthrow,
Here may my odious Carcas dwell,
Vntill my soule returne from Hell,
Where with Judas I inherit
Such portion as all traitors merit.
If heauen admit of Treason, Pride or Lust,
Expect my spotted soule among the Iust.

382

fol. 67^{v}

In Eundem.

Some say the Duke was gratious, Virtuous, good,
And FELTON basely did to spill his bloud.
If that be true, how then did he amisse,
In sending him so quickely to his blisse?
Pale death seemes pleasant to a good mans ey,
And onely bad men are afraid to dy,

Left he this Kingdome to possesse a better?

Why! Felton then hath made the Duke his debter.

383

fol. 103^{r}

Epitaph. 1633.

Here lieth rotten she, whose name indeed was Grace

Yet of the female sex, the shame and foule disgrace.

Of person she was tall, of noble race descended,

Her beauty in her youth, was much to be com*m*ended.

And this was all she had: for looke into her mind,

And you therein a sinke of filthynes should find.

To cursing, swearing, lies, her wicked tongue she vsed,

Her bed & body both with diuerse she abused.

Nay to her brushes too, she gaue her husbands place,

She would be drunke w*i*th men, & pisse befor their face.

And as she grew in yeares, & beauty still decaied,

Her whorish face with fard she daily ouerlayed.

When none would court her more, she turned her daughters baud,

And entred her into her owne vngodly trade.

Whether her soule is gone, I dare not to determine.

Her rotten carcase here doth serve to feed the Vermin.

384

fol. 134^{v}

O yee that passe this way, I pray be not so coy,

As not to view the Tombe of famous Wilia*m* Noy.

A Cornish man by birth, y bore not far fro*m* Foy

Who cheifely spent his time in study of the Loy.

And yet he euer was a lusty noble Boy

As sound and true a Blade, as euer was in Troy.
When he the time could spare, it was his only Ioy
To drinke with Tinkers stout, & w*i*th the rascals toy.
But when his skill in law, exceeding old Don Ploy.
Had him advancd to be the Procureur du Roy.,
So that he could no more his old conforts <d>enioy
His great & gainfull place did turne him to annoy.
With busyness infinite his head he did so cloy,
That in the midst of all, grim death did him destroy

OBIIT 10. AVG. 1634

Octob*er* .9. 1634

385

Marginal manuscript annotations by Charles Stanhope, 2nd Baron Stanhope of Harrington p. 272

Heer lyes this councelour in his Grave

whooe was in his life time a pratinge lyinge knaue

386

fol. 2r

On Queene Elizabeth

Kings, Queenes, Mens Virgins eies
See where your mirrhour lies
In whom her freinds haue seene
A Kings state in a Queene:
In whom her Foes suruaid
A Kinges heart in a Maid.
Whom least men for her Pietie
Should grow to thinke a Diety;
Heauen hen<s>ce by death did summon
To shew she was a woman.

387

fol. 2r

On the same

Weepe greatest Isle, and for thy mistr<e>is death
Swimme in a double sea of brackish water;
Weepe little world for greate Elizabeth,
Daughter of warr, for Mars himselfe begate her:
Mother of peace, for shee brought foorth the latter.
Shee was, shee is (what can there more bee saide)
On Earth the cheife, in Heauen the scecond [sic.] Maide

388

fol. 2[r]

On the same

Spaines Rodd; Romes Ruine, Netherlands releife,

Earths Ioy, Englands Gemme, Worlds Wonder Naturs cheife.

389

fol. 2[r]

On a younge man

As carefull nurses in theire beds doe lay

Their babes which would too long the wantons play:

So to preuent my youths insuing crimes,

Nature my Nurs laide mee too bed betimes.

390

fol. 2[v]

On the beheading of Mary Queene of Scotts

When doome of death by iudgment foreappointed

Straining the law aboue all reach of reason,

Had done to death, condemned a Queene anointed,

And found (<T>o strainge!) without allegiance treason.

The Axe that should haue done the execution

Shun'd to cut off the heade that had bine crown'ed;

The hangman lost his wa<g>i<e>ted resolution

To quell a Queene of noblessse [sic.] so renowned.

Ah was remorse in hangman and in steale,

When Peers and Iudges no remorce could feele.

Grant Lord that in this noble Isle a Queene,

Without a head may neuer more be seene.

391

fol. 2[v]

On the death of Queene Anne

Richard Cole of kinges Coll*ege* in Cambridge

Great Apollo, God deuine
Of Graces three, And Muses nine
Gently daine mee one poore verse
To pinne vpon this sacred Herse;
For if Graces three were dead
And the Muses buried,
From these ashes might ascend
Phœnix like, who might attend
Thee Apollo God deuine
Graces three and Muses nine.

392

fol. 2[v]

On the same who died March 2 [crucifix symbol]

Rich*ard* Cole

Tis not yet may, nor yet are Aprill showrs,
And wee admire the Springs so early prime;
And cause wee see in feilds the smiling flowers
Write Month of May, two months befor the time:
But windy March still-rounds it in our eares
That earth is suer mstaken in our teares
Yea rather proude of our illustrious Queene
(Whom wee alas no longer time can keepe)

And cause wee morne in blacke w<ea>ill, maske in greene,

And smile the while shee sees vs throobb amd weepe

Or if not so not teares are looke for showers

The Flower of Queens is then the Queene of Flowers.

fol. 3[r]

Faire Queene of Flowers to thee ^the^ birds doe sing;

But did they know <their> our griefs would weeping say

Thy too soone ashes make too soone a spring,

Before the month of Aprill and of May:

For eare may comes, our Cries, Teares Aprill slowers

Will marr their tunes, and drowne the smiling flowers.

393

fol. 3[r]

On Queene Anns death not long

After the appearing of the Comett.

'Twas to inuite this guest God sent this starr,

Whose freinds and neerest Kinne good Princes are;

Who though they runne the race of men and dy,

Death serues but to refine their Maiestie:

So did this Queene her courte from hence remoue,

And putt off earth to bee inthroned aboue.

Shee is but chain'gd; not dead; no good Prince dyes

Like this daies sunn, they only sett to rise.

394

fol. 3^{r}

On the Lady Arabella

D^{r} Corbett

How doe I thanke thee death, and blesse the hower
That I haue past the Gaurd, and scapte the Tower!
That now my pardon is mine Epitaph
And a small Coffine my <body> ^whole carkess^ hath!
For at thy charge both soule and body weere
Enlarged att once, secured from hope, or feare
That amonge Saints, this amongst Kinges is laide;
And ^what^ my Birth right claimed, my Deaths right paide.

395

fol. 3^{r}

On Prince Henry.

M*iste*^{r} C. W:

Reader wonder thinke it none <though I speake and>
Though I speake and am a stone
Should I not my treasur tell
Wonder then you might as well
How this stone could chuse but breake
If it had not learnt to speake
Heres shrined celestiall dust
Which a while I keepe in trust
Hence amaz'd and aske not mee
Whose these sacred ashes bee
Purposly it is concealed
For if that should bee rueald [sic.]

All that read <[...] that stand> ^would^ by and by

Melt themselues to tears and dy.

396

fol. 3^{v}

On S*i*^{r} Walter Rawly

Great hearte who taught thee so too dy,

Death yeilding thee the victory?

Where tookst thou leave of life, if there,

How <where> couldst thou bee so farr from feare?

Yet suer thou didst and quitst the state

Of flesh and bloud before that fate;

Else what a mirracle is wrought,

To triumph both in flesh and thought!

I saw in euery stander by

Pale death life only in thy eie:

The legacie thou gauest vs then

Wee'le shew for when thou diest agen

Farewell; Trueth shall this Glory say,

Wee died, thou only liuedst that day.

397

fol. 3^{v}

On M*iste*^{r} William Shakspeare

M*iste*^{r} Basse

Renowned Spencer lie a thought more nigh

To learned Beaumont; and rare Beaumont ly

A little nearer Chawcer, to make rome

For Shakspeare in your threfold, fourefold Tombe.

To lodge all fouer in one bed make a shifte
Vntill domes day, for hardly will fifte
Betwixt this day and that, by fate bee slaine,
For whom the curtains shalbee drawne againe.
But if Precedancie in death doe barre,
A fourth place in your sacred Sepulcher;
In this vncarued marble of thy owne,
Sleepe braue Traiedian, Shakspeare sleepe alone:
Thy vnmolested brest, vnshared Caue
Possesse as Lord, not, Tenaunt to thy graue
That vnto others it may counted bee
Honour heareafter to bee layd by thee

398

fol. 3^{v}

Stone his Epitaph made by himselfe

Lo here I lie streatcht out both hands and feete;
My bed my Graue, my shirt by winding=sheete:
No man shall need to hew a stone for mee,
My selfe a Toomb=stone to my selfe will bee.

399

fol. 4^{r}

On D*octo*^{r} Rauis Bishop of London

D*octo*^{r} Corbett

When I past paules and trauailed in the walke,
Where all our Brittaine sinners walke ^sweare^ and talke;
Old Harry Ruffines, Bankrupts, Southsaiers,
And youth whose cosenage is a grey as theirs;

And their beheld the body of my Lord,

Trodd vnder foote by vice which he abhorrd:

It wondred mee the Landlord of all times

Should sett long liues and leases to their crimes,

And to His springing honours did afford

Scarce so much <loue> sunne, as to the Prophets Gourd.

Yett since swifte flights of Enuy haue best ends,

Like breath of Angells w*hi*^{ch} a blessing sends

And banisheth w*i*th all; whylst fouler deeds

Expect a <bade> tedious haruest of bade seeds:

I blam nor fame nor Nature, that they gaue,

Where they could add no mor, their last a Graue.

And iustly do thy greiued friends forbeare

Bubles <Bubles> and Alebaster boyes do reaue

O're Thy ^religious^ dust: but bid men know

Thy life, w*hi*^{ch} <illusions> such illusion <shew> cannot shew,

For thou has trodd amongst these holy ones,

Who trust not to these superscriptions;

To hired Epitaphs, and a pe^r^iured stone

W*hi*^{ch} oft belies the soule when shee is gone:

But darest com*m*itte thy body as it lyes

To tounges of liuing men not vnborne Eyes,

What profitts then a sheet of leade? What good,

If on this hearse a marble quarry stood?

Let such as feare their rising Purchase vaults,

And reare them statu^e^s to excuse theire faults;

As if like birds that picke at painted Grapes,

Their iudge knew not their persons for their shapes:

Whylst though <through thy> assured through thy easie dust

Shalt rise at first, They would not yett they must:

Nor need the chauncellour bost, whose Priamis

Aboue the host and Altar reared is

For though thy body fill a baser roome,

Thou Shalt not change deeds w*i*th him for his Toombe.

400

fol. 4^{v}

On M*iste*^{r} Henry Boling his death

D^{r} Corbett

If gentleness could tame the fat's, or witt

Delud them, Boling had not died yett:

But one that deathe orerules in iudgementt sitts,

And saies our sinns ar stronger then our witts

401

fol. 4^{v}

On the same

M*iste*^{r} B. Duppa

Tis so, hee's deade, and if to speake againe,

Will add one mo^u^rner more vnto his traine,

Tis Bolings dead,: Mortallity thy hand;

I now begine to know, thee, and thy band

Of pale diseases. Halfe this Island might

Haue chang'd their sunn for an Eternall night

W^{it}*h*out my naming thee; And men haue past,

E'ene almost the whole species to their last:

Thousands of passinge=Bells, a Plagu or warre,

Would sound to mee as Thunder shott from farre,

W*hi*^{ch} children heare but feare not. But twas time

For mee to feele thy power, and know my crime;

Therfore thou now strukst home, thy cunning darte

Hath suerly hitt wats nexte if mist, my harte:

Whylst scarse my selfe doth w^{it}*h* my selfe agree

To tell you weether I am dead or hee.

402

fol. 4^{v}

On a Gentlwoman

The woman that withthin [sic.] this earth is laid,

Twice six <wife> weeks knew a wife, a Sainte, a Maid;

Faire maide, chast wife, Pure Sainte, yett tis not strange

She was a woman therfore pleased w*i*th chainge

Though shee bee dead som woman doth remaine

For shee doth hope, once to be changed againe.

403

fol. 4^{v}

On M*iste*^{r} Stephens fellow of S*ain*^{t} Iohns in Oxford, and an Excellent Musition.

M*iste*^{r} C.W.

Bee not offended at our sad complainte,

yee quire of Angells who haue gained a Sainte

Where all perfection mett in skill and voice

Wee mourne our losse, but wee com*m*end youre choyce

404

fol. 4^{v}

On a hopfull young Oxford Student

Short was thy life

yet liuest thou euer

Death hath his due

yett diest thou neuer

405

fol. 5^{r}

On S*i*^{r} Phyllip Sydnie

England, Netherland, the Heauen and the ar'ts.

The souldiers and the world haue made six partes

Of noble Sidnie, ^For^ who would suppose

That ^a^ small heape of stons can Sidni inclosse?

England had his body for shee it fedde,

Netherland his bloud in her defence sheed;

The Heauens haue his soule, the Arts haue his fame,

The souldiers the greife, the world his good name.

406

fol. 5^{r}

S*i*^{r} Richarads Anderson his Epitaph on the death of his Sister the Lady Vayne.

Stay strainger know if good thou bee, <he>

Heers <one> buried one neere kinne to thee;

Soules worthier then our bodies bin,

And goodness 'tis mak's soules of kinne:

Good soules haue all one end and scope,

And hers inioyes what ours but hope.

Goodnes hath ther its meerite found;

So whylst wee fight; her soule is crowned:

And singes forth Hymns in that blest quire

To which all good soules doe aspire

Goe strainger now if good thou art,

Pray thine w^{it}*h* hers may beare a parte.

407

fol. 5^{r}

Sic mihi contingat viuere, sicq*ue* mori.

On S*i*^{r} Robert Cecill Earle of Salsburie

Oh that such wisdome last <would> that could steere a state,

Should now bee ualued at so cheape a rate!

The burden that this one so easely bore

Was deemed waight enough for thousands more

As Enuy blusht in all that vnderstoode.

Who from a crime surmised his fame reedemd

So nobly, that it now for vertue seem'd,

Fate of our age! See how this deade man lys

Bitten and stung by courte and Cittis flyes

fol. 5^{v}

His wisdomes questioned, and now all can find

And scoff at to greate vices in his mind.

Att this greate Pillars fall when all thn [sic.] laugh,

Dreads not the whole world the nexte Epitaph

408

fol. 5^{v}

On the death of M*iste*^{r} Blagraue. May 10. 1621.

Greece likneth man to an inuerted tree,-

Whose boughs the roots, whose roots the boughs should bee.

Greece dot's in this, for trees their fruite do bring

In Autumne, here's a tree brings his in spring;

A golden fruit, w*hi*^{ch} when Procerpine spies,

The Hesperian appl's match not in her eies:

Thus ielous of fruit, euen both together,

Takes fruite and tree, least fruct they both do wither

And now the tree which once this fruite did yeild

Doth spring a fresh in the Elyzian feild.

409

fol. 5^{v}

An Epitaph vpon Stone

Ierusalems curse shall neuer light on mee

For heer a stone, vpon a stone <vpon> you see.

410

fol. 5^{v}

C.R. On the Lady Mary daughter to King Iames

Within this marble caskett lies

A matchless iewell of rich priz;

Which nature in the worlds disdaine

But shewed and then putt vp againe.

411

fol. 5^{v}

On S*i*^{r} Walter Waller

I'de praise thy valour, but Mars ginn's to frowne

And feares when Sol's alofte that Mars must downe

I'de praise thy forme, but Venus cries amaine

S*i*^{r} Walter Waller will my Adoines staine

fol. 6^{r}

'Ide praise thy learning, but Minerua cries,
Then Athens fame must creepe when Waller's dies
Asist us England in our doleful song
When such limmes fade, thy flourish last's not long
Earth hath his earth w*hi*^{ch} doth his corpes inroll,
Angells tune Requiems to his blessed soule.

412

fol. 6^{r}

On the Lady Waller[1]

All worthy eies reade this that hither comes;
Neuer decaying vertue fills this Toombe:
Neuer enough to bee lamented heere,
As long as women kind are worth a teare.
Within these weeping stones lies Lady Waller,
Hee that will know her name a sainct must call her;
Her life was so good whylst shee liu'd here,
Leaueled so straight to God in loue and feare:
Euen so good that turne her name, and see
Ready to Crowne that life as Lawrell=Tree.

[1] Usually an acrostic verse reading 'ANNAWALLER' with 'All' instead of 'Hee' in l.6 and no 'her' on 7

413

fol. 6^{r}

* On M*ist*^{r}*es*^{s}

Shees deade; nor were itt fitt shee should <be.> liue still,
To feele the malice of old ages ill;
Shee had w^{it}*h* honour measured her lifes spann
And lackt but fouer yeeres o'th' full age of man
Whate's beyond that is trouble and disease,
A dying life, sorrow and restlesse ease.
Nor would she long'er li<v>fe her husband deade,
To feele the tortures of a widdow bedd,
Shee only grac'd him with a funerall teare
Liu'd but to mourne and died within the yeare.

414

fol. 6^{v}

On S*i*^{r} Walter Raleigh who was beheaded a little before the appearance of the Com*m*ett.

I knew thee but by fame and thy braue deedes,
Those spoke thee loude. Forwheare trew worth exceedes,
It cannot sleepe in Lethe. Who could but know
Thee for the Muses Freind, and Spaines Arch Foe?
Mee thinkes the old Heroes weighed w^{it}*h* thee,
Homer was out or they of meane degree;
Of witt and, Valour, Hee to patternes sett;
In thee both, weare, and both more strongly mett:
Thow shamdst his art, and spite of Rule or Fashion
Madst practise out goe speculation.
And yett thow hadst so much Mortalletye
To dy; though not w^{it}*h* out a prodegy.

For thow (our sunn) being sett, and darke Night come
An vpstart starr would needes supply thy roome
And lende that light wee mist; yet 'twould not bee
It shone bright, but not halfe so bright as thee:
It shone, but being out vied, itt streight was done,
As though a Meteor could out shine the Sunne.
Oh that I could tune out so full a straine,
As might become thy Ellegy. In vaine
<I> I wishe itt: Englandes Muse Raleigh is deade
And blow spilt the balme of that rare heade.

415

fol. 6^{v}

M*iste*^{r} St: Cliue: On S*i*^{r} Thomas Smith

As prisoners quite to gaine new libertie
Must fee their keepers or still captiue lie
So this braue Knight (by his redeemers bloud
Cleansed from the sinne where of he guilty stoode
Must in this stony Vault imprisoned stay
Till hee the Wormes (deaths greedy iaylours) pay
Theire vttmost fees: W*hi*^{ch} by his Corpes, discharg'd,
Ift like his freer soule shall bee inlarg'd.

416

fol. 8^{r}

An Epitaph on S*i*^{r} Edward Standly. Ingrauen on his Toombe in Tong Church.
Shakspeare

Not monumentall stones preserues our Fame,
Nor sky-aspiring Piramides our name;

The memory of him for whom this standes
Shall out liue marble and defacers hands
When all to times consumption shall be giuen,
Standly for whom this stands shall stand in Heauen.

417

fol. 8^{r}

On S*i*^{r} Thomas Standly

Idem, ibidem.:

Aske who lies heere but doe not wheepe,
Hee is not deade; Hee doth but sleepe;
This stony Register is for his bones,
His Fame is more perpetuall, then these stones:
And his owne goodnesse w*i*th him selfe being gone,
Shall liue when Earthly monument is no<o>ne.

418

fol. 8^{r}

On M*iste*^{r} Inglethorpp of Worcester

Heere lies his frailty his faier soule aboue,
Who sorted all His actions to that end:
This Cytties Glory euerie good<s> mans loue,
In life in death the poores perpetuall Freind:
As Hospitable as they speake of Iobe.
And o his zeale! But how dare wee com*m*end?
Beyonde all penns his praise will best appeare,
Only ^to^ write tis Ingletorpp lies heere.

419

fol. 8^{v}

On one Iohn King.

Reader what difference makes itt now,
Weether thou diest by Thundershott,
Or coward arrow from a Bow,
Or neare out facing Botkins lott?

Wee sleepe alike, feede Wormes alike,
I was ere whyle aliue as thou;
Thien eies death one day blind will strike,
Now, or anon, thow knowst not how.

Much ill, best young'st hast thou done,
Prithee take heede and doe no more;
For my good Councell giue me one
Poore freindly teare, for thy selfe store.

Now gett thee home, tell thy Freinds how,
Thou camest to learne this same one thing;
That difference none thow findest none,
'Twixt greate King Iohn, and poore Iohn King.

420

fol. 8^{v}

Barkly his Epitaph

Hee thats imprisoned in this narrow roome,
Werte not for custome needes nor Verse, nor Toombe;
Nor can there from these memory bee lent
To Him, who must bee His Toombes Monument:
And by the vertue of his lasting name,
Must make his Toombe liue long, not itt his Fame.
For when this gawdy Pagentrie is gone,
Children of the vnborne world shall spy the stone
That couers him: and to theire Fellows cry,
'Tis heere iust heere about Barkly doth ly.
Let them W*i*th fained titles fortify
Theire Toombes, whose sikly vertue feares to dy;
And lett theire Toombes bely them, call them blest,
And charitable marble feigne the rest:
Hee need's not when his lifes true story's done,
The lying Postcript of a periured stone.
Then spare his Toombe that's needles and vnsafe,
Whose Vertue must outliue his Epitaph.

421

fol. 9^{r}

On M*iste*^{r} Dauena*n*tt who died att Oxford in his Maioralty, A fortnight after his Wife./

Well sceince th'art deade, if thou canst mortalls heare,
Take this iust Tribute of a Funerall teare,
Each day I see a Corse, and now no Knell
Is more Familiare then a Passing=Bell;

All die no fixe'd inheritance men haue,
Saue that they are freeholders to the graue.
Only I greiue, when vertues brood
Becomes Wormes meate, and is the Cankers foode.
Alas that vnrelenting death should bee
At odds w*i*th Goodnesse! Fairest budds we see
Are soonest cropp't; who know the fearest crimes,
Tis theire pererogatiue to die bee=times
Enlargd from this Worlds misery: And thus hee
Whom wee now waile made hast to bee made free.
There needes no loud Hyperbole sett him foorth,
Nor sawcy Elegy to bely his worth;
His life was an Encomium large enough;
True Gold doth neede no foyles to sett itt off
Hee had choyce giftes of nature, and of arte;
Neither was Fortune wanting on her parte
To him in Honours, Wealth, or Progeny:
Hee was on all sides blest. Why should hee dye?
And yett why should he liue his mate being gone,
And Turtle like sigh out and endlese moone?
No, no; hee loued her better, and would not <so easely>
So easely lose what hee so hardly gott.
Hee liu'd to Pray the last Rites to his Bride,
That done hee pin'd out fourteene dayes, and died.
Thrice happy paire,! Oh could my simple Verse
Reare you a lasting Trophee ore you yo*u*r Hearse,
You should Vie yeares w*i*th time; Had you yo*u*r due,
Eternety were as short liu'd as you:
Farewell and in one Graue now you are deade
Sleep endisturb'd, as in yo*u*r marriage beed.

422

fol. 9[r]

On the same.

If to bee Greate, or Good deserue the Baies,
What merits hee whom Greate, and Good doth praise?
What meritts Hee? Why, a contented life,
A happy yessue of a vertuous wife
The choyce of Freinds a quiet honour'd Graue;
All these hee had: what more could Daunant haue
Reader go home, and w*i*[th] a weeping eie
For thy Sinns past, learne this to liue, and die.

423

fol. 9[v]

On D*octo*[r] Iohnson a Physitian. Nouember 1621

Deaths only terrible in thy very name
And some few circumstances, else twere the same
To go to bed and dy, for do Death right
'Tis a sound sleepe, a little longer night:
Yea of some liuing deade men I haue reade,
Whoi[ch] each night died, and made theire Graue theire Bedd.
Yet I must question Death, how hee now can
Kill his Grand Agent, A Physitian;
For Physick's a disease spoiles more by farr,
Then either Cooke, a Pestilence or Warre:
There are such skilfull Docters ^in't^ they say,
That they can kill theire score a weake, and play.
But Iohnsons art was nobler, and sau'd more
Then twenty of deaths Instruments slew before;

Wherfore enrag'd to see men crosse his lawes,
To stopp th'effect hee takes away the cause,
And slayes Him first: and in him many one,
Who pine to see theire health before them gone.
Now hee is gone Whence shall a Patient finde
On that will cure his body and his Minde;
One both Whose arte and Toungue w*i*th a sweete iarr
Stroue in each cure to out slipp the other farr:
Whose good to others hurt himselfe, and Which
Did liue too honest to dy ouer rich.

424

fol. 9^{v}

On the same

M*iste*^{r} W.I. On the same.

Peace to thy soule, Whylst Wee heere mone
With a iust teare that Iohnson's gone;
Iohnson a truly honest man:
A Good and Learned Physitian.
How many yet suruiues scarse Knowes
Weether Gallen writt in verse or prose!
And yett these men still liue; and can
Maintaine theire Footcloths, and their man;
They Physicke bodies, but in vaine
They liue to lust, and sinne to gaine:
They looke like Saintes, and yett are looth
To keepe Hypocrates' his oath.
O Fortune that itt should bee said,
That these men liue now Iohnson's deade!
But Practise doth this lesson giue,

The Best first dy, the Worst still liue.

425

fol. 10^{r}

On M*iste*^{r} Iohn Nycholls Vicar of Longashtonn who died vpon a Saterday night Dec. 21 1622./

'Tis no addition to his Glorious herse,
To sing His praise, or Ballad out a verse;
No his pure soule (now w*i*th the saintes at praiers)
Lifts him aboue the Region of such aiers:
Yet giue vs leaue our greate losse to lament,
Sorrow would burst vs, if Itt had no vente.
We know he's deade; herin bein blest, though,
Since tis some happinesse to I [sic.] know the worst:
For Hopes and feares only make tortures thriue,
And W*i*th strange art do murther men aliue.
All the content now left vs is to tell,
How glad wee are hee liu'd and died so well.
To write his life euen in the plainest hew
Would seeme Hyperboles, although most trew;
His verie life was Sermons, and did preach
As wholesome Doctrines as his toungue could teach.
And for His life itt 'twas (my duller braine
Want's a due attribute) as full of paine, <as rich in comfort>
As rich in Comforte; Comfort! did abound,
The helplesse siche gaue Cordialls to the sound.
The Patient was Physitian: who stood by,
By him who taught to liue, were learn'd to dy.
Happy in life and death in end and beirth!
Hee was in Heauen, and yett in Hell on Earth;
For to the hearers comf[o]rt hee foorth straines

Most Heauenly raptures in most Hellish paines.

Hee had his fiery triall, w*hi*^{ch} being past,

The oft wisht hower of death did come att last:

For hauing worne out the weeke hee went ith Eauen

To keepe his Sabboth w*i*th the S^{t}aincts in Heauen.

426

fol. 11^{r}

On the death of Queene Anne

No, not a quack sad Poetts! Doubt you,

There's not greife enough with out you!

Or *tha*^{t} itt will asswage ill newes,

To say shee's dead that was yo*u*^{r} muse!

Ioyne not with death to make these times

More greivous with most greivous rimes.

And if't bee possible (Deare eies)

The famous Universities,

If both yo*u*^{r} eies bee matches, sleepe;

Or if you <b> will bee loyall, weepe:

Forbeare the presse, there's none will looke

Before *th*^{e} Mart for a new booke.

Why should you tell *th*^{e} World what witts,

Grow at new-Parkes, or Campus pitts;

Or what conceits Youths stumble on,

Taking *th*^{e} aire towards Trumpington;

Now you grave Tuto^{rs}. w*hi*^{ch} do temper

Yo*u*^{r} long and short with Que and Semper;

Oh do not when yo*u*^{r} owne are done,

Make for my Ladies eldest sonne

Verses, w*h*i^{ch} hee will turne to prose,

When hee shall read what you compose;

Nor for an Epithite that failes

Bite off yo*u*^{r} vnpoetick nailes.

Vniust, why should you in these saines

Punish yo*u*^{r} fingers for yo*u*^{r} braines!

Know henceforth *tha*^{t} greifes vitall part~~s~~

Consists in Nature, not in Art;

fol. 11^{v}

And Verses, that are studied

Mourne for themselues, not for the dead.

Hearke the Queens Epitaph shall bee

No other, then her Pedigree.

For lines in blood, cutt out are stronger

Then lines in Marble, and last longer:

And such a Verse shall neuer fade

That is begotten, and not made.

------ Her Father, Brother, Husband Kings;

Royall Relations! from her springs.

A Prince, and Princesse, and from those

Faire certaineties, and rich hopes growes.

Here's Poetrie shall bee secure,

Whilst Brittaine, Denmarke, R'hene indure

Enough on Earth, what purchase higher –

But Heaven, <[….]> to purchase higher desier!

And as a strange starre onc't entic't,

And govern'd those wise ment to Christ;

Even so a Herald starre this yeare

Did beckon to her to appeare,

A starre, w*hi*^{ch} did not to o*u*^{r} Nation

Portend her death, but her translation;

For when such Harbingers are seene,

God crowns a sainct, not kills a Queene.

427

fol. 12^{r}

he that is borne to day

and dies to morow

Looses some <monthes> ^houres^ of sweete

but monthes of sorrow

428

fol. 14^{r}

An Epitaph on Iudg Monsun

What wight is this that soe obscurely lyes

shut vp from sight both of *th*^{e} Moon and Sun?

Ecc^{o} Monsun:

Monsun say true? is this that worthy Iudge?

Ecc^{o}: Iudge:

I cannot Iudge by shewe that it is hee?

Ecc^{o}: It's hee:

What dyed hee poore or else had hee few freinds?

Ecc^{o}: few freinds:

Few freinds? who had his wealth? his freinds or els his wife?

Ecc^{o}: his wife:

His wife? but say what Paramour now doth grop her?

Ecc^{o}: Roper:

Barrat hath changed an Almund for a rope

Though Tombs bee deere and cost full many a pound

And Monuments for men of great renowne

Small cost would serue to shroude the in a stone

Thy wife hath too yet cannot spare thee one.

429

fol. 20^{r}

On the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst who died att the Councell Table forswearing himself against S*i*^{r} Iohn Luson.

Heere lies hee who by his <cunning> ^learning^ and his witt,

Could wrest the law, and well nigh conquerr itt;

And by his cunning art was thought right able

To starve a sutor att the Councell Table

Who when hee had no evidence to shew,

Was faine to take his death vpon't 'twas so.

430

fol. 20^{r}

On the same

Im*m*odest death that would not once conferre,

Nor talke, nor parly with our Tresurer.

Had hee bine thee or of thy fatall Tribe;

Hee would have spared thy life and t'ane a bribe.

431

fol. 20^{r}

On the late Lord Tresurer S*i*^{r} Rob*ert* Cecill

Gibbosus iacet hic parvus, qui voce Richardus

Textius, ast Iudas ille secundus erat.

Vita conveniunt, leve sed discrimen in vena est

Quod non pra*e*benit debita furca luem.

Translated into English thus

Here lies little Croockbacke,
Who iustly was reckoned
Richard the third but
But was Iudas the second
fol. 20^{v}
In life they agreed,
But in death they did Alt<a>^e^re;
Great pittye the Pox
Should cosen the Halter.

432

fol. 20^{v}

On S^{r} Walter Rawley.

Essex thy death's reveng'ed; lo here I ly
Att whose bloudshedd thy Innocence may crye,
Now Rawly quits: I died not (as all see)
So much to satisfie thee Law as thee.
Thou hadst a=nother foe, hee went before:
The French vndid vs both, but him the whore.
My soules iust greife is this; the world will please
To say wee tooe died of the same disease.

433

fol. 20^{v}

On S*i*^{r} Iohn Spencer

Here lies S*i*^{r} Iohn Spencer an ell vnder ground,
Who laide out by the penny, laid vpp by the pound;
Hee ended his life with a sigh, and a gro<w>ne;
Hee lived as hee died a slaue to his owne.
Hee died in Intestat, that the world might not say,
Hee like an vnthrift gave his mony a way.
His soule how itt fares! Tis suer that hi lands
And goods are committed to the Lords hands.

434

fol. 20^{v}

On the same

In great S^{t} Helens here lies S*i*^{r} Iohn
Spencer, not spend all yet all is gone
Hee hoped to be saved not by any good workes
But by his owne faith and so doe the Turkes.

435

fol. 21^{r}

On the Porter of Winchester

Att length by worke of wonderous fate,
Heere lies the Porter of Winchester gate,
If gone to Heaven (as much I do feare)
Hee can bee no more then a Porter th<a>ere.

Hee feated not hell so much for his sinnne,

As for the greate rapping and oft com*m*ing in.

436

fol. 21[r]

On Owen Butler of Christ Church

Why Death so soone did honest owen catch

Into my minde itt can not easelye sincke;

Itt may bee death stoode att the butterye hatch

And honest owen would not make him drinke;

If itt bee so then Owen ‘twas thy fault

That death insteede of drinke made him his draught

Not so, nor so; For Owen gaue him Liquor,

And death being fox’t took him away the quicker:

Yett merrye ladds let care neare hurt the mind,

Though th Butlers deade the Kayes are left behinde

437

fol. 21[r]

On the Same

Here lies old Owen, that lately did dye;

Did not you know him? No more did I.

438

fol. 21^{r}

On the Porter of Winchester gate.

At leanth by worke of wondrous fate, <h>
Heere lies the Porter of Winchester gate;
If gone to Heaven (as much I do feare)
Hee can bee no more then a Porter there.
Hee fear'd not Hell so much for his sinne
As for the greate rapping and oft com*m*ing in.

439

fol. 21^{r}

On a Vsurer.

Here lies tenn in the hundred
In the ground fast Ram*m*d
'Tis a hunderd to tenn
If hee be not dam<.>nd.'

440

fol. 21^{v}

On S*i*^{r} Anthony Benn late Recorder of London.

In Hell of late did grow a greate disorder,
And to make peace they sent for the Recorder;
Who striding theire to keepe the Divells in awe,
Began to vse the rigour of the law.
Blacke Pluto finding that hee was so cruell
Streight entertaines him as his cheifest i^e^well;
And theer to knowing his deedes on earth so well,
Hee concecreates him the cheife Iudge in Hell:

Where hee com*m*ands the spirits in the darke,

But yet itt greives Him that hee wants his Clarke.

Many did wish greate Pluto and did woo him,

That heede bee pleas'd to fetch his Clarke vnto him.

441

fol. 21^{r}

On S*i*^{r} Iohn Calfe.

C.<R>.K

<All> O deus omnipotens Vituli, miserere Iohannis,

Quem mors perveniens noluit esse Bowam.

Translated thus into English

All Christian men in my behalfe,

Pray for the soule of S*i*^{r} Iohn Calfe;

O cruell death so suttle as a fox,

Who killed'st this Calfe before he was an Oxe.

When hee might haue eate both brambles and thornes,

And att his fathers yeares haue worne the hornes.

442

fol. 21^{v}

On an Abbott who died in the Acte of Fornication

Heere sixe foote deepe

In his last sleepe

The lat Lord Abbott lies;

Who his way made,

With his owne blade

Through both his Mistresse thighes.

If through that hoole,

Then to Heaven hee stoole,

Then surely iudge I may;

Hee was the first,

That that way past,

And the last that found the way.

443

fol. 21^{v}

On one that Died w*i*th Tobacco

If so hee died; then <[.]surely> <[…]> iudge am I much in doubt,

How so much breath ‘tane in could in could drive death out.

[this poem has multiple areas that have been written over/corrected]

444

fol. 21^{v}

On a Lasciuoius Gentlewoman.

C. K.

One stone sufficeth (Lo what Death can do)

Her that in Life was not content w*i*th two.

445

fol. 22^{v}

On one whose Name was Moore

Heere lies Moore, and no moore but Hee;

Mo<o>re, and no moore: how can that bee.

446

fol. 22^{v}

On a Cobler

Death and this man were long at a stand

For still he founde him on the mending hand:

At last hee tooke him in a weeke of foule weather,

And ripp't the sole from oppen leather.

447

fol. 22^{v}

On S*i*^{r} Stephen Some Who Was Wont to Sweare To offenders and Vagabonds before God you shall to prison

heere lies S*i*^{r} Stephen w*i*th his heads full Low,

Death tooke him <away> and swore before God you shall goe.

448

fol. 22^{v}

On a Blacke Horse

Death rodd a hunting once to kill a doe

On a blacke nagg; whose pace did please him so,

And colour to (for death delights in blacke)

That neuer since hee would gett of his backe:

If death loue ambling naggs; Prithee Iacke Po<o>tter

Buy no more ambler; but goe begg a Trotter.

449

fol. 22^{v}

On a Lawyer by his owne sonne.

God workes wonders now and than

Heere lyes a Lawyer was honest man.

450

fol. 23^{r}

On a faier Gentlewoman that was farr from Honest

M*iste*^{r} St: Cliue

Here lies a woman w*hi*^{ch} is all,

For Maide, now Wife I can her call,

Much lesse a Widdow; whose late death

If it were like her Vitall breath)

Must needes then yeild a lothsome smell,

As many noses know full Well:

And some full ill (if wide mouthd Fame

For His reports deserue not blame)

'Tis saide shee keept a Rackett Courte

To W*hi*^{ch} good Gentlenes did resort;

God graunt no actiue freind of mine

Have banded Balls there vnder line,

Or struck into Her Hazard once:

For feare that blow still paine their bones

451

fol. 23^{r}

On M*iste*^{r} Pricke

The thirteenth day of *th*^{e} month November,
Christ Colledge lost their privy member;
And letcherous earth did open her wombe
Deceased Pricke for to intombe:
Maidens lament, and widdowes spend yo*u*^{r} grones
For now *th*^{e} Pricke is layd beneath *th*^{e} stones.

452

fol. 23^{r}

On Iohn Dawson *th*^{e} Butler of Christ Church his death.

M*iste*^{r} Stroude.

Dawson the Butler's dead; Although I thinke
Poets were n'ere infused with single drinke,
'Ile spend a Farthing muse; Some watry verse
Will serve *th*^{e} turne to cast vpon this he^a^rse;
If any can weepe amongst vs heere,
Take off his Pott, and so squeize out a Teare.
Weepe ô his cheeses, weepe till yee bee good
Yee *tha*^{t} are dry or in *th*^{e} sunne have stood;
In mossie coates and rusty liveryes mourne
Vntill like him to Ashes yee shall turne.

n.b. Only a limited range of pages is available online for this manuscript.

453

p. 14

[marginal note: ‘An Epitaph on Aretine’]

An Epitaph on peter Aretine in S*ain*^{t} Luks church in Venice.

The Toscan Aretine lies in this graue,

He who at all, excepting god, did rale;

And if *th*^{e} reason you desire to haue,

He knew him not.

454

fol. 6r

(His [Sir Thomas Wodehouse, 2nd Baronet] own 3 verses w*hi*ch he dictated to his son to be putt on his tombestone not an houre before his death)

[Turned once anticlockwise in margin]

"Gods mercyes, & Christ's meritts make me trust

"To be rayz'd vp, from this my sinfull dust

"for aye, to prayse Iehouah w*i*th *th*e iust.

455

fol. 8r

Agincourt / Wodehowses - An <indeed> intended Epitaph Vpon S*i*r Philip Wodehows *th*e Elde*r* vd – Heywo*o*ds poems in print

From valiant <u>Iohn</u> this Philip Wodehows spring's

Hee of *th*e chamber to *th*e greatest of Kings

Henry *th*e 5th. Hee who at Agincourt

wonn that eterniz'd Motto Frappe Fort

Spatch't from a noble Frenchman. When by force

In *th*e midd feild he beatt him from his horse

And brought him prisoner. for W*hi*ch warlick deed

As souldiers still deserve their valours need)

All heraldry ha's to his creast allow'd.

A hand & clubb, extended from a cloud.

This John had John. John Edward, Edw*ar*d then

had <u>Thomas</u> Thomas <u>Roger</u>. Hee agen

<u>Thomas</u> & Thomas <u>Roger</u>. who was father

To this S*i*r Philip. Him whose dust wee gather

To mixe w*i*th his brave Ancesto*r*s, *th*e Last

of sev'n successive knights (thrice <3> ^4^ fore past

Of elder seats. but Lineall in ascent)

Out of whose Loynes *th*e 6 forenamed went

And this S*i*r Seventh. I -╪[shape crossed out] knighted <he was in Spayn> ^in Spayn & Hee

In Baronets first rank *th*e fortieth Three.

Ag'd sixty one, in bed of dust heer sleep's

For whom This monumentall <weep's> marble weep's

Read who ere thou art conceive this done

by *th*e due office of a pious sonn –

---

and twas by his eldest son S*i*r Thomas whose makings &

mendings I have seen under his own hand. [This may refer to KIM 9/3, fol. 7v]

though tis prived among Heywoods

little poems.

In *th*e forgoing pardon 2 mistake (or miscountings rath*e*r.) for

ii. *th*e 1st it is reckonn*ing* ^[that]^ S*i*r Ph*ilip* [.]te 7th fro*m* John for indeed he was *th*e

~~first~~ 8th fro*m* *th*e Aginco*u*rt John - & *th*e 9th fro*m* S*i*r Iohn *th*e first of Kinb*er*ley

ii. *th*e 2d mistake is in rank of Baronetts for he was *th*e 41 when he says 43

p*ar*don foth for they are diminishing ones – if any -

[Turned once anticlockwise and in margin, appears to be added from the section with this mark above]

╪ in his first [r]'vaught thus

And this Sir Seventh. Who aged sixty one

Sleep's w*i*th his fathers, vnder this hard stone

Hard stone hurt's not sound sleep. Thus must we rest

Vntill *th*e trumpet wake's vs to be blest -

456

fol. 9^{v}

Vpon *th*^{e} Lady Blanch Wodehows. d. to

Lord John Cary Baron Hunsden -

A Daughter see, of Henry Hunsdon's race.

^Hee^ neer <to> Q*ueen* El*i*zabeth, in kin and grace

spring from PLANTAGENETS by Beacham, Blount

SPENSER & BEAUFORT. They from BELLOMONT.

<Shee in Religion strict, & regular

In actions o her Life most debon*n*aire

A WIFE most chast, A MOTHER full of care,

& indulgence. A MISTRES kind & deer.>

Or [flower symbol]

[flower symbol]

Next to her serving God, her chiefe delight

was in her needle, from *th*^{e} morne till night

For w*hi*ch God blessing her; was pleas'd *thai*^{t} shee

drew out her thread of Life, thrice happilye.

as chast Penelope [inserted below line]

Ph*ilip* W*odehouse*. Fitzcary

[page turned anti-clockwise once, written in left margin]

[flower symbol]

A pious Christian shee! Whose fayth was more

in works, than words. In life, than Lary [?] Lore

A chast & prudent Wift. A Mother deare

A Mistres whom her house more love than feare.

n.b. Sixteenth century document. Single sheet, used as a folio but folded again for storage. There is no foliation, so I will be using my own, spanning fols. 1^{r}-2^{v}. The paper has been damaged towards the top of the sheet. This is contemporary damage, since the poems are written around it. However, it has friated since, and some losses are evident.

457

fol. 2^{r}

An Epitaphe of the Duke

f[fare]well Brave Admirall great Duke farewell,
Regaine thy honnor lost in conqueringe hell,
Lett all beare wittnesse, that stande by and see,
thou do'ste more here, than at the Isle of Ree.
Lett all theire Ensignes in theire bloods be dip't
And have a care your Ordinance be not ship't;
Thus when wee see you*r* come vppon the mayne,
wee'le saye great George his honor's woon againe.

n.b. – this document is extremely damaged, many areas are not fully legible.

458

fol. 4r

An Epitaphe maid vpon the Lat Duck of Somerset Beheadyd the xxix th daie of Ianuary 1551

Beholde manye b[e]fall Lyf & stait, hys fatall end this daie
A Duck a prince of great renowne, to vs dothe nowe bewray
ffrome meane estat [&] t[..]till blood, by fortune dyd he springe
his sustere whome maid him to be, an vncle to a kinge
In whose suche tender yeres & reigne, adv^a^unced was his name.
his realme and p*er*sone to p*ro*tect, and governe ek the same
wherein he spent a painfull tyme, by ruile for to assende
but fortune dyde his stat invye, & brought it to annende
And dide him cast frome dignitie, to sue in captiues bandes
Tyll favor, p*ar*done, did obteyne at Leng[th] and mercies handes
Then did he adv^a^unce his <seate> seale, & bare a noble porte
A duick the chieffestes of his estat all men dyd him report
But oh, ala[ie] an Envyouse worme, did Gnaw this fikell hart
& causyd him transgrase *th*e Lawes, for w*hi*ch he doth nowe smart
By flattry ledd of wycked men his Ruyne <did> dailie grewe
Conspyring mischef to him self as nowe it dothe insewe
Where his fatall end ys brede, *th*e daie his head he lost
the earthe his carkas doth possesse, *th*e hevine I trust his gost
ffor pacyens dyd him arme to dethe, & styll hys hart p*reser*ve
In hope and trust of Blessyd lyf, from w[hich] he did not sw[er]ve
But, w*ha*t faithe dyd ende his <hi> Lyf, for gevinge for gevi<nge> [sic.]
That wytnes will I beare of him his soule ys now in hevin<g>
And resteth w*i*th tholie one, in Amrah^a^ms brest I trust
w*i*th god to dwell in Blyssednes, thoughe nowe his fleshe <ys> ^be^ dust

His faithefull <sorrowe> ^soule^ the Lorde receive, & all men for him pray

that his example maie us teache, o*u*^{r} Kinge and Lawe to obeay

True Subiectes in o*u*^{r} lyf to be, o*u*^{r} hevinlie god to s*er*ve

that by good lyf and faithfulness, the hevin we maie dis*er*ve /

finis/

Thoughe Somerset be dead as semethe to [2-3 words, damaged. 'his daie'?]

his pacyent deathe hath wonne him lyf *tha*^{t} never shall decaie/

459

fol. 1^{r}

Their ignorance that understands not him

Whose worth nor Greek nor Latine can well limb

Let them but know in English he lies here

Whose Name to most, whose loue to all was deare.

460

p. 1

Vppon Queene Anne by K:[ing] J:[ames]

Thee to inuite the Great God sent a starr.
Whose frinds and nerest kinn great Princes are
What though they ruine the race of men, & dye
Death seemes but to refine their Maiestie
So did this Queene her Court to heauen remoue
And lefe off Earth to bee enthron'd aboue
Then shee is gone not dead, no good Prince dyes
But only with the day=starr shut their eyes.

461

p. 4

An Epitaph on Prince Henry

Reader, wonder thinke it none
That I speake and am but stone
Here lies enshrin'd Celestiall Dust
And I doe keepe it but in trust
Wherefore hence=forth aske not mee
Whose these sacred ashes bee
For surely it is conceal'd
For if this should bee reueal'd
All the people passinge by
Would weepe themselues to teares and dye.

462

p. 4

The Queene Elizabeth

The Queene was brought from Greenewich to Whitehall
At euery stroake the oares did teares lett fall
More clunge about the Barge, fish vnder water
Wept out their eyes of pearle, and grew blinde after
I thinke the Bargemen might with easier thighs
Haue rowde her thither in her peoples eyes,
But how soere thus much my thoughts haue scand
Shee had gon by water had shee gone by Land.

463

p. 10

Vincent Corbett farther knowne
By poynters name then by his owne
Here lies ingaged till the day
Of raisinge bones and quickninge clay
    Nor wonder reader that hee hath
Two surnames in his Epitaph
For this ne did comprehend
All that two families could lend
    And if to know more Arts then any
Could multiplie one into many
Here a colonie lies then
Both of Qualities and men
    Yeares hee liud well nigh fowre score
But count his vertues hee liu'd more
And number him by doeinge good
Hee liu'd their age before the flood

Should wee vndertake his storie
Truth would seeme fain'd and plainenes glorie
Beside this Tablett were to small
Add to the pillars and the wall.
Yet of this volume much is found
Written in many a fertile ground
Where the Printer thee affordes
Earth for Paper, trees for wordes.
p. 11
Hee was Natures factor heere
And Leiger lay for euery sheere
To suply this ingenious wants
Of some sprung fruits and forraine plants.
Simple hee was and wise with all
His purse nor base nor prodigall
Poorer in substance then in frindes
Future and publike were his ends.
His conscience like his Diet, such
As neither tooke nor lefte too much
So that made lawes were vseless growne
To him hee needed but his owne.
Did hee his Neighbours bid like those
That feast them only to inclose
And with their rostemeate racke their rents
And cousen them with their fedd consents?
Not the free meetings at his boord
Did but one litterall fence afforde
No close or Aker vnderstoode
But only Loue or neighbour-hood.
His almes were such as Paule defines
Not causes to bee say'd but signes

Which almes by faith, hope, Loue, layd downe

Layd vp, what now hee weares a Crowne

Besides his fame his goods his life

Hee lefte a greeu'd sonne and a wife

Strange sorrow scarce to bee beleaued

When the sonne and heire is greiued:

Reade then and mourne what ere thou art

That dost hope to haue a parte

In honest Epitaphes, least beinge dead

Thy life be written and not reade: R[ichard] C[orbett]

464

p. 11

Deare Vincent Corbett who so longe

Had wrestled with diseases stronge

That though they did possess ech limm

Yet hee broke them ere they broke Him. [word amended from 'them' to 'Him']

With the iust cannon of his life

A life which knew nor noise nor strife

But was by sweetning so his will

All order and disposure still

His minde as pure and neately kept

As were his Nurceries, and swept

p. 12

So of malice and offence

There neuer came ill odure thence

And add his actions vnto these

They were as spatious as his trees

Tis true hee could not reprehend

His very manners taught to amend

They were so euen graue and holye

No stubborneness so stiffe, nor folly
To licence euer was so light
As once to trespass in his sight
His looke would so correct it when
Hee chid the vice, yet not the men.
Much from him profess I wonn
And more and more I should haue donn
But that I vnderstoode him scant
Now I conceiue him by his want
And pray who shall my sorrowes reade
That they for mee their teares will shead
For truly since hee lefte to bee
I feele I'm rather dead then hee. [flower symbol]

B*en* J*onson*

465

p. 12

I hope my pietie to which could
If vent it selfe, but as it would
Would say as much as both haue donn
Before mee here the frend and sonn
For I both lost a frende and father
Of him whose bones this graue doth gather: [flower symbol]

466

p. 12

Reader whose life and name did ere become
An honest Epitaph deserues a Tombe
Nor wants his heere through penuries or sloth
Hee that builds one so't bee *th*[e] first, makes both.

467

p. 14

Anthonie Weastdons Anagram

Note he was and is not:.

Note what is worth your notice: (or a man

Hee was and is not: If you would it scan*n*e:

Rouze vp your memorie, call to minde that hee

Was lately liuinge: now dead all may see.

Louinge as long as liuinge, lik't by all

Who like Antæas riseth by his fall.

What Art and Nature to them selues assumed

Both enemies, deaths Harbingers wel=nigh consumed.

But looke how gratious hee liu'd mong vs here

In Heauen hee much more glorious shall appeare:.

468

p. 17

Vppon M*ist*^{ris} Gardner Daughter to the right wor^{s}*hipfu*^{ll} D*octo*^{r} Ashboold D*octo*^{r} of Diuinity Lacrymæ consolatoriæ.

In Eden Grandsire Adam first was plas't

To till and prune it with laborious hand;

But now it is so totally defas't,

As but by gues wee know not wher't did stand;

Hee was the first of men, and Gardiners, and

The first that Morgaigd his replenisht lande,

Thus wee in him haue left that vnmacht life

wee should haue ledd within those sacred bounds

And now wee know no Eden but a Wife

Whose vertues shine like vertues in the roundes.

So shind shee (Gardner) whome our teares bedew

And so sang all, but spight, her lif that knew.

Shee was an Eden, a Thessalian Feilde

Of euer teeminge pleasures: and gains't dyinge

This Tempe that it may selfe-like fruite yeeld

Must haue a gardner, Hee a timely knowinge

And soe her had. Such his felicityes

Hee turnd his garden to a Paradise

With wings of Zeale and feete of preparation

Shee posted Heauenward where shee takes up Inn

Vntill the worlds end, when the seperation

Of soule and body shall cease with al Sinn

Her soule to Christ *tha*^{t} loud it shee preferd

In Peters Rock her body is interd.

W:H:

[marginal note] St Peters Church in London: [flower symbol]

469

p. 19

Vppon M*ist*^{ris} Thaire, daughter to the right wor*ship*^{full}

D*octo*^{r} Ashboold, heretofore *th*^{e} wife of M*iste*^{r} Weston :[flower symbol]

Heere lies inclos'd within her quiet vrne

The subiect of perfection and desarte

For virtuous life, who though to dust shee turne

Tis not a resolution but in parte:

Admitt her body moulder into clay

It shall turne sollid at the latter day

Thrice was shee married; and so happily;

That if all weomen had her fortune sure

The Church would straight approue of trigame

Though but the vertuous could put it in vre:
Successiue happiness so blest her Bed
That shee enioyd a husband beinge dead.
For though to celebrate the Nuptiall rites
Shee went but twice to Church: yet thrice espousd.
Her pietie confirmes her: Now blacke Night
Hath ceas'd vppon Her in Earths prison hous'd
Sett west, and liuinge Thayre were Hers thow list
Blinde Ignorance in Death shee married Christ.
W: H:/

470

p. 36

On the death of S*i*^{r} W*alter* R*aleigh*

Great heart, who taught thee so to dye?
Death yeeldinge thee the victorye?
When tooskt thou leaue of life? If there
How couldst thou bee soe free from feares?
But sure thou didst, and quit the state
Of flesh and blood before that fate
Else what a miracle is wrought?
I saw in euery standerby
Pale Death, life only in thy eye:
The Legacie thou gaust vs then
Wee'le sue for when thou diest agen.
Farewell, Truth shall this glory say
Wee die'd, thou only liu'dst that day:./

471

p. 68

In obitum Ducis Len*n*oxia*e*

Are all diseases dead, or will death say
Hee might not kill this Prince the common way
It was e'u'nso, and time and Death conspir'd
To make his end, as was his life, admir'd;
The Commons were not summon'd now I see
Meerely to make Lawes but to mourne for thee:
Nor less then all the Bishopps might suffice
To waite vppon so great a sacrifice
The Court the Altere was the waiters Peeres
The Mirhe and Frankincense great Cæsars teares
A brauer offring with more pompe and state
Nor time, nor Death did euer celebrate: ee:

472

p. 68

Epitaph

Steward by name, by office, by account,
amongst the iustest men: an heauenly writt
the day thou shouldst in earthly robes haue sitt
Did call thee vp vnto the holy mount.
Thy Robes are now transfigured white as snow
And shine in happie memorie here below,
The agonies of Death to thee were spard
Nothing is suddaine to a soule prepard./

473

p. 72

An epitaph on the Lady May and natt: feild *th*^{e} player

It is the faire and pleasaunt Month of May
That clads the feild in all his rich a<r>ray.
Adorning him with c^u^<o>lo<u>rs better dyde
Then any Prince can weare or any Bride,
But May is almost spent, the feild growes Dun
with gazing too much on his Mays hott Sun,
Yet if milde Zepherus please not his heate to allay
Poore feild must burne euen in the midst of May:.

474

p. 94

<u>An Epitaph</u>

Stay, view this stone, and if thou beest not such,
Reade here a little, that thou maist know much,
It couers first, A virgin and then, one
who durst bee so in Court: A vertue alone
to fitt an Epitaph, but shee had more
Shee might haue claim'd t'aue made the Graces fowre
Taught Pallas, Language, Cinthea Modestie,
As fitt to haue increast the Harmonie
Of Spheares, as light of starrs: shee was
The sole religious house and votarie
Not bound by rites but Conscience, woulds y*u*^{u} all
Shee was sett boulstred, in which name I call
Vp so much truth, as could I here persue
Might make the fable of good weomen true:

B*en* J*onson*

475

p. 94

Cease booteless teres, weepe not for him whose Death
made way to Heauen; for hee that lent him breath,
Long liu'd hee Captiue; now at Libertie
This world of wooes turnd to felicitie
What, is hee gon: no, wee enioye him still
that learned worke, (the Laurell of his quill,
Shall liue) and blaze his fame, those only dye
that leaue no record to posteritie
The end the Life, the Euenige [sic.] crownes of Day
his Night surpast his morning euery way,
ffor Samson like, Dyinge hee vanqui'sht more
then all his life time hee had done before:
ffinis:

476

p. 116

An Epitaph on Prince Henry,:

A Plant of fairest hope that euer stood
in Ida or the Callidonian wood,
whose armes out stretched might haue reac'ht as farr
as is the Antick from *th*^{e} Antarticke starr
and Cyrus like his shaddows ouer spread
from siluer Ganges to Solls watry Bed
this plants cut downe, and if wee for his fall
Cannot lament enough, our children shall:

477

p. 116

An other by H: H: [Hugh Holland?]

Loe where hee shineth yonder

A fixed starr in heauen

Whose motion here came vnder

None of the Planetts seauen

If that the Moone, should tender

the sunn her Loue and Marry,

thy both could not ingender

Soe br<.>ight a starr, as Henry.

478

p. 127

Vpon Master <John> Charles Wray son to S*i*^{r} William Wray, who died at 16 or 17 years of age & lyeth buried in Ashbie Church in Lincolnshire.

When I in Court had spent my tender prime,

And done my best to please an earthly Prince,

Euen sick to see how I had lost my time,

Death pittying mine estate, remoud me thence,

And sent me (mounted vpon Angels wings)

To serue my Sauiour & *th*^{e} King of Kings.

479

p. 147

<u>An Epitaph vpon a Pigmie.</u>

This tomb doth hold
A Pigmie bold;
who when aliue
In arms did thriue;
But a Crane's bill
My life did spill;
And here I haue
A fitting graue.

If you ask why these verses are so short,
Attend & take this serious reason for't;
I was but one foot long; these two you see;
Though short, they are one foot to long for me.

480

p. 170

S*i*^{r} Thomas Ouerbury; Epitaph
written by himself

The span of my days measur'd, here I rest
That is, my Body; but my Soul, his Quest,
Is hence ascended, whither, neither Time,
nor ffaith, nor Hope, but only Loue can dime;
Where being now enlightned, she doth know
The Truth of all, men argue off below.
Only this Dust doth here in pawn remain
That, when *th*^{e} world dissolues, she come again.

481

p. 174

[flower symbol] Within this Rocke the Rock himselfe is layd,
Who both the Tombe, and the tombe maker made.
A Man he was, there was noe such man beside
None liud to Iust, none so vnuistly dyde.
A world of sinns were layd vnto his charge
To saue a world hee's willinge to discharge
and suffer all: yet not the least his spott
Great need hee dyed, and yet hee needed not.
Our day hee's dead the Sone of Heauen here sleepes
The second rest the ffather his sabboth keepes
The Third, the quickninge spirit him reuiues,
Now hauinge vanquisht Hell, and broke deaths giues
You holy weomen may your labour saue
Vnless you'le giue your vnction to a graue.
To anoynt the Lords anoynted tis in vaine
This Trinity of dayes hee's rose againe:.

finis

482

p. 175

A renouation of an Auncient Bish*o*p:
w*i*th Will[iam] *th*^{e} Conq*uero*^{r} <of> out of St Pauls

Walkers (who so ere you bee)
If it proue you chaunce to see
Vppon a solemne scarlett day,
The Cities Senate pass this way
Their gratefull memorie to showe
Which they the reuerent ashes owe

Of Buishop Norman, heare inhum'd

By whom this Cittie hath assumd

Large priuilidges, they obtain'd

By him, when Conqueringe Willian raignd

--

This beeing by Barkhams thankfull minde renews

Call it the Monument of Gratitude: ffinis

483

p. 191

[marginal note] On King Iames

All that haue eies, now wake and weepe:

Hee whose wakeing was our sleepe,

Is falne asleep himselfe, & neuer

Shall wake more till wak'st for euer.

Deaths iron hand hath closd those eies,

That were at once three kingdomes spies,

Both to fore see and to preuent

Dangers, as soone as they were meant.

That head whose wakeinge braine alone

Wrought all mens quiet but it's owne,

Now lies at rest. O Let him haue

The Peace hee lent vs, to his graue.

If no Naboth all his raigne

Were for his fruitefull vineyard slaine,

If not Vriah lost his life

Because hee had too faire a wife

Then let no Shemeis curses wound

His honour or prophane this ground.

p. 192

Let no black-mouth'd ranck-breathed curre

Peacefull Iames his ashes stirre

Princes are Gods, Ô doe not then

Rake in their graues to proue them men.

484

p. 192

For two and twenty yeeres long care,

For prouiding such an heire,

That to the Peace wee had before

May adde thrice two and twenty more.

For his day trauills, & night watches

For his crazd=sleepe stolne by snatches.

For two feirce Kingdomes, ioind in one

For all hee did, or meant t'haue done

Doe this for him, write o're his dust

James the Peacefull and the Iust:.

485

p. 193

[marginal note] <u>On K*ing* Iames</u>

Is hee dead? noe, opinion argues farr wide

Abijt non obijt hee's but stept aside.

Crownes that are Earthly are but transitorie

Our Iames went hence to weare *th*^{e} Crowne of glory.

Berefte of life hee endlesse life hath gain'd

Vertue still grac't him and his blisse obteyn'd

Substance for shadowes hee doth now enioye

Rich in true pleasures, free from worlds annoye.

Of all admired for his gratious parts

Xerxes though conquering much, nere wonn more hearts:.

486

p. 198

[marginal note] On *th*[e] death of M*ist*[ris] Marye Prideaux.

Weepe not because this child hath died so younge
But weepe because your selues haue liued so longe.
Age is not fill'd by grouth of time, for then
What old men liue to see *th*[e] state of Men?
Who reach the youth of grand Methusalem
Ten yeeres make vs as old as hundreds him.
Ripeness is from our selues & then wee die
When Nature hath obtaind maturitie.
Summer and Winter fruites there bee, & all
Not at one time but being ripe must fall.
Death didd not erre, *th*[e] mourners are beguild
Shee died more like a mother then a childe.
Weigh the composure of her prettie parts
Her grauitie in Childhood, all her Arts
Of woman-like-behauiour, weigh her tongue
Soe wisely measured, now nor short nor long
Add onely to her grouth some riches more
Shee tooke vp now what due was at Threescore
Seauen yeares shee liu'd our ages first degree
Iourneys at first steppe ended happy bee.
Yet take her stature w*i*[th] *th*[e] age of Man
They well are fitted, both are but a Spanne.

487

p. 198

[marginal note] Butler of Ch*rist* Ch*urch* in Oxon: John: [Dawson]

Dauson the Butlers dead; although I thinke
Poets were ne're infusd w*i*th Single drinke
Ile spend a farthinge Muse, some watry verse
will serue the turne to cast vppon this hearse.
If any cannot weepe amongst vs heere
Take off his pott and so squease out a teare.
Weepe Ô yee Cheeses weepe till yee bee good
Yee that are dry or in the Sunne haue stood,
In Mossie coates & rustie liuries mourne
Vntill like him to Ashes hee shall turne.
Weepe Ô barrells, let your drippings fall,
In trickling streames make wast more prodigall.
Then when our drinke is bad, *thai*t Iohn may floate
To Stix in Beare and life vp Carons boate
With wholesome waues, & as our Cunduites run
With Claret at the Coronation
So lett our Chanels flow with single tiffe
For Iohn I trust is crownd, take off your whiffe
Yee men of Rosemary now drinke of all
Remembringe tis the Butlers funerall
Had hee ben Master of good double beere
My life for his Iohn Dawson had ben here.
ffinis

488

p. 199

[marginal note] epitapes

Let no prophane ignoble foote tread neere
This hollowed peece of Earth. Dorsett lyes heere.
A small poore relique of a noble spirit,
Free as the Ayre, and ample as his merrit,
Whose least perfection was large, & great
Enough, to make a Common man compleat
A soule refin'd and c<.>ul'd from many menn
Who reconsiled the sword vnto the penn
Vsinge both well, nor proud forgettinge Lord
But mindfull of meane names & of his word.
Who loued for honour, and not for end's,
And had the noblest way of makeinge friends,
By louinge first. One who knew the Court
But vnderstood it better by report
Then Practise, for nothing tooke from thence
But the King's fauour for his recompence.
One for Religion or his Cuntryes good,
Valued not his honour, nor his blood.
Rich in the worlds opinion and mens praise
And full in all wee could desire, but dayes./
Hee thus is warn'd of this & shall forbeare
To vent a sigh for him or spend a teare.
Let him liue long & scornd, conpittied fall,
And want a mourner at his funerall.

489

p. 199

Heer lies his Parent's hopes, and feares
Once all their ioyes, now all their teares.
Hee's now past sense, past fears of paine,
Twe're sinne to wish him here againe
had it liue to haue bee^n^ a Man ----- beene
This inch had growne but to a spanne
and now hee takes vp vp less roome
rock't from his cradle to his Tombe
T'is better die a child at fower,
then liue and dye soe at foure score.
Vew but *th*^{e} way by which wee come
Thou'lt say hee is blest, *tha*^{ts} first at home.

Morly

490

p. 199

Nature in this small volume was about,
To perfect what in woman was left out.
Yet carefull least a peece soe well begunn
Should want p*r*^{e}seruatiues when shee had donne
'Ere shee could finish what she vndertooke,
Threw dust vppon it & shutt vp *th*^{e} booke.

Browne

491

p. 199

As carefull mothers to their beds doe laye
Their babes w*hi*^{ch} would to long *th*^{e} wantons playe
So to p*r*^{e}uent my youth ensuinge crimes,
Nature my Nurse layd me to bed betimes.

492

p. 200

Within this Marble casket lyes
A daintye Iewell of great prize.
Which Nature in *th*^{e} worlds disdaine,
But shew'd and put it vp againe.

493

p. 200

Hee that's imprisond in this narrowe roome
wert not for custome, needs nor verse nor tombe.
Nor from those cann theire memory be lent
to him who must bee his toombes monument.
and by the vertue of his lastinge name,
must make his toombe liue long not itt his fame,
for when his gaudie monument is gone,
Children of the vnborne world shall spy *th*^{e} stone
that couers him, & to theire fellowes crye
t'is heere iust here abouts Barckley doth lye.
Let them with fayned titles glorifie,
theire toombes whose sickly virtues feare to dye
And let their toombes bely them call them blest,
And charitable Marble, fayne the rest
Hee needs not when his lifes trew story's donne

the post-script of a periured stone

Then spare his toombe *tha*^{ts} needlesse & vnsafe

Whose vertue must outliue his Epitaphe:/

494

p. 200

Renowned Spenser, ly a thought more ny

To learned Chaucer, and rare Beaumont, ly

A little nearer Spencer to make roome

for Shakespere in thy threefould fouretould tombe.

To lodge all fowre in one bedd make a shift

Vntill domes=day, for hardly will a fift

Betwixt this day and that by fate bee slaine

for whom your Curtaines may bee drawne againe

If your p*r*^{e}cedencie in death doe barre

A fourth to haue place in yo*u*^{r} sepulchre

Vnder this sacred Marble of thine owne

Sleepe rare Tragœdian? Shakespeare sleepe alone

thy vnmolested Peace, vnshared caue

possesse as Lord not tennant of thy graue.

That vnto vs or others it may bee

Honour here after to be layd by thee.

Bass./

495

p. 206

On the death of S*i*^{r} Th*omas* Pelham

Meerely for Death to greiue and mourne
were to repine that man was borne,
When weale old age doth fall asleepe
Twere fowle Ingratitude to weepe.
Those threds alone should pull out teares
Whose sudden cracke breakes=of some yeares;
Here tis not soe; full distance here
Sunders the Cradle from the beare.
A fellow trau'ller hee hath bin
So long with time, so worne to skin;
That were hee not Iust now bereft,
His body first the soule had left.
Our Iourney when wee come in late;
Beyond that state the ouerplus
was granted not to him but vs;
For his owne sake the Sun ne're stood
But only for the peoples good,
Eu'n soe his breath held out by Aire
Which poore men vttered in their prayer.
And as his goods were lent to giue
Soe were his dayes *tha*^{t} they might liue.
Soe Tenn yeeres more to him were told
Enoguh to make another old:
O that Death would still doe soe
Or else on good men would bestowe
That wast of yeeres w*hi*^{ch} vnthrifts fling
Away by their distemperinge

That some might thriue by this decay

As well as that of Land and clay

T'was now well don*n*e: No cause to moane

On such a seasonable stone

Where death is but an Hoast: wee sin

Not bidding welcome to his Inne.

Sleepe, Sleepe, thy rest goodman embrace

Sleepe, Sleepe, thast trode a weary race.

ffinis

496

p. 211

Anagram:

Iohn Portmane
Mother no paine.

Deare Mother I haue lately meet with one

The best Phisition and Chirurgion,

Who suddenly gaue perfect ease to mee,

Although hee tooke my body for his fee.

This was the most hee caus'd mee to endure

I could not speake with you before my cure.

Yet fate who would not lett me die amonge

My friends, hath giuen my name a tongue.

Scann ouer that sad Mother once or twice

And you shall finde both comfort & aduice.

On paine of great detraction from my blisse

Weepe not for mee, who am where no paine is.

497

p. 211

On the death of young Barronet Portman dyinge of an Impostume in his head:

Is Death so cunninge now that all her blowe

Aimes at the head, doth now her wary bow

Make surer worke, when heretofore the steele

Slew war like Heroes only in the heele?

Now find out slights. when men themselues beginn

To bee their proper Fates, by newfound sinne?

Tis cowardise to make a wound so sure

No Art in killinge where no Arte can Cure

T'was it for hate of Learninge that shee smote

This vpper shoppe where all *th*^{e} Muses wrought

p. 212

Learninge shall crosse her drift and du^e^ly trie,

All waies and meanes of Immortalitie.

Because her head was crush'd doth shee desire

Our equall shame? in vaine shee doth aspire

Noe, noe, wee know where ere shee made a breach

Her poysonous sting onely the heele can reach,

The head itselfe looke on the soule of Man

Is but a lower Inch of such a spann.

Yet hath shee straind her vtmost Tyranny

And done her worst in that shee came so high

Had shee reseru'd this stroke for haughtie men

For Politicke Contrinuers; iustly then

The punishment were matcht w*i*th the offence

But when Humilitie and Innocence.

Soe indiscreetely in the head are hitt

Death hath done Murther & shall die for it.

Thinke it no fauour showne, because the braine

Is voide of sense, & then more free of paine;
Thinke it no kindnesse when soe stealingly
Hee rather seemd to iest away then die,
And like the Innocent the widdowes child
Cried out my head my head & sweetly died
Thinke it was rather double Cruelty
Slaughter intended on his Name, *tha*^{t} her
Whose thoughts were nothinge tainted, nothinge vaine
Might seeme to hide corruption in the braine.
How easie might this blott be wipt away
If any Penn his worth could open lay;
for which, those harlott praises which wer reare
Vn common dust, as much to slender were
As ____ for others, Bostinge Elegies [marginal note; 'gentle:']
Must here bee dumbe; desert *tha*^{t} ouer weighs
All her reward stopps, all o*u*^{r} praise, least wee
Might seeme to giue a looke, to them & thee
Wherefore an humble verse & such a straine
As mine will hede the truth, cause others faine:./

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p. 216

Vpon S*i*^{r} Walter Raleigh.

If spight be pleas'd, w*he*^{n} as her Object's dead,
Or malice pleas'd w*he*^{n} it hath bruis'd *th*^{e} head,
Or Enuy pleas'd, w*he*^{n} it hath what it would,
Then all are pleas'd for Rawleigh's bloud is cold.
W*hi*^{ch} were it warm and actiue, would o'ercome,
And strike *th*^{e} two first blind, *th*^{e} other dumb.

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p. 217

Vpon S*i*r Walter Rawleigh, made by <u>himself</u> before he was beheaded.

Euen such is time w*hi*ch takes in trust,
Our youth, our ioys, & all wee haue,
And pays us nought but age and dust,
W*he*n in *th*e dark and silent graue.
W*he*n we haue wandred all out ways
Shuts up the story of our days.
And from w*hi*ch graue, & earth, & dust.
The Lord will raise me up, I trust.

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p. 217

Vpon K*ing* Charles *th*e 1st, writt by *th*e Marquess of Montrose w*i*th *th*e point of his sword.

Great! good and just! Could I but rate
My griefs, and thy too rigid fate,
I'de weep *th*e world to such a strain,
That it should deluge once again.
But thy loud-tongu'd bloud demands supplies
More from Briaress' hands, *tha*n Argus's eyes
I'le therefore sing thy obsequies w*i*th trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph w*i*th bloud & wounds.